DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 400 398 CE 072 716

AUTHOR	Hake, Barry J., Ed.; Marriott, Stuart, Ed.
TITLE	Adult Education between Cultures. Encounters and Identities in European Adult Education since 1890. Leeds Studies in Continuing Education. Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults, Number 2.
INSTITUTION	Leeds Univ. (England). Dept. of Adult and Continuing Education.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-900960-59-0; ISSN-0965-0342
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	299p.; For a related document in the Cross-Cultural Studies series, see CE 072 717.
AVAILABLE FROM	Leeds Studies in Continuing Education/Museum of the History of Education, Rm. 14, Parkinson Court, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, United Kingdom.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; Comparative Analysis; Cross Cultural Studies; *Cultural Context; Cultural Differences; *Cultural Exchange; Educational Change; Educational History; *Educational Practices; *Educational Trends; *Extension Education; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Open Universities; Role of Education
IDENTIFIERS	Africa; *Europe; Folk High Schools; Popular Education; United States

ABSTRACT

This book contains the following papers from a European research seminar examining the history and theory of cross-cultural communication in adult education: "Introduction: Encounters and Identities in European Adult Education since 1890" (Barry J. Hake, Stuart Marriott); "The University Extension Movement (1892-1914) in Ghent, Belgium in Comparative Perspective" (Dirk van Damme); "Adaptation of an Educational Innovation: The Introduction of University Extension into the Netherlands, 1890-1920" (Xandra de Vroom); "A Science of Democracy: An Outline of the Development of University Extension in Europe, 1890-1920" (Tom Steele); "The Popular Universities in Europe, 1890 to 1920: What Was Being Popularized?" (Stuart Marriott); "University Extension in the United States: The English Connection" (Janet Coles); "Ruskin and Morris in the Netherlands: An Exploratory Study of Their Influence on Dutch Adult Education" (Bastiaan van Gent); "The Arbeiterbuchgemeinschaften in the Weimar Republic: An Instrument of Cross-Cultural Adult Education?" (Angelika Kaus); "Labour and Cultural Transfer: Work Camps in the West, 1918-39" (John Field); "'Folk High School' or 'Voluntary Labour Camp'? Residential Educational Provision for Young Adults in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1930s" (Barry J. Hake); "Rolf Gardiner: An Inter-War, Cross-Cultural Case Study" (Malcolm Chase); "Contested Concepts: The Development of Education in British India from the Early Years to 1920" (Richard Taylor); "The Introduction of University Adult Education into Anglophone Africa: The Case of Ghana" (Colin Titmus); and "Adult Education as Intercultural Communication" (Folke Glastra and Erik Kats). (MN)

ED 400 398

Adult Education between Cultures

Encounters and identities in European adult education since 1890

Edited by

Barry J. Hake

Stuart Marriott

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LEEDS STUDIES IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults, Number 2

First published in 1992
in the series Leeds Studies in Continuing Education
by the Study of Continuing Education Unit
School of Education, University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT

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Leeds Studies in Continuing Education
ISSN 0965–0342

Adult Education Between Cultures
ISBN 0 900960 59 0

DTP by the Study of Continuing Education Unit. Printed in England by the University Printing Service, University of Leeds

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Preface

This volume presents a record of the second annual meeting of a European Research Seminar which periodically brings together a collaborative network of adult education specialists concerned with the history and theory of cross-cultural communication in their field. It is published as Number 2 of the series 'Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults'. The first title in the series, *British–Dutch–German Relationships in Adult Education 1880–1930*, resulted from the inaugural meeting of the Seminar at the University of Leiden in July 1991.

The second annual meeting, under the auspices of the Study of Continuing Education Unit, University of Leeds, was held at York in September 1992. The original triangle of British–Dutch–German collaboration was again represented, but circumstances unfortunately did not allow our first German partners, from the University of Tübingen, to take part. At the same time, 1992 saw a broadening of membership and of thematic concerns in historical research into the education of adults. New participants came from the Europahaus Volkshochschule, Aurich, Germany; the University of Bradford, England; the University of Ghent, Belgium; and the University of Graz, Austria.

The group is 'closed' in that membership is on the strength of an active involvement in a relevant scholarly field; and as a condition of attendance participants are normally expected to contribute a research-based paper and a considered critique of one other participant's work. Papers are circulated in advance, and for each a 'first reader' provides a commentary, in terms of scholarly content and appropriateness for subsequent publication. The actual work of the seminar is based on the pre-circulated papers and the agenda provided by the comments of the 'first readers'. The reports of readers and the records of general discussion are not reproduced as such in this volume; the main points of general criticism and speculation are, however, incorporated in the Editors' introductory chapter.

Once again the content and method of the meeting were judged to have been conspicuously productive, and there was general agreement to hold a third annual meeting at Wolfgangsee, Austria in September 1993. The aim of the organizers is to retain the support of the 'founder members' of the Seminar, and to work towards a more broadly-based membership without weakening the distinctive academic character the network has achieved. It is hoped that an Austrian venue will favour in particular the involvement of colleagues from Central and Eastern Europe.

The organizers wish to thank the British Council once again for its financial support of participants travelling between the Netherlands and England, and the series 'Leeds Studies in Continuing Education' for the preparation and publication of the proceedings.

Note on editing: The contributions collected here come out of a variety of national and disciplinary traditions of presenting scholarly work. In editing the original papers we have aimed at a reasonably uniform system for providing details of titles and sources, but two distinct referencing systems have been retained from the original papers. It was decided, at the risk of creating some impression of untidiness overall, to respect the particular convention preferred by the author of each chapter.

December 1992

B. J. H., University of Leiden

S. M., University of Leeds

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Introduction: encounters and identities in European adult education since 1890

Barry J. Hake and Stuart Marriott

The first volume of this series 'Cross-cultural Studies in the Education of Adults' set out to demonstrate the potential for research on transactions between cultures in the history of European adult education (Friedenthal-Haase, Hake and Marriott 1991). It reported ideas and findings which were beginning to emerge from research projects recently established in a number of European universities, all designed to remedy the superficiality of existing references in the various national literatures to the historical role of foreign influences. The book was the first product of a network of scholars associated with those projects. The network itself appears to be unique on the European scene, not only because of its concern with cross-cultural and comparative aspects of adult education taken in historical perspective, but because membership is inseparable from active involvement in relevant research.

The present volume, *Adult Education Between Cultures*, reports further progress. It is marked by a more consistently historical focus; it incorporates a number of new contributors, some of whom in their turn offer a notable broadening of thematic coverage. This introduction, whilst not pretending to authority as a record or protocol, attempts to capture the tone of the discussion which surrounded the production of these chapters, and speculates on some of the issues which were implicit in the process.

As one distinguished German specialist in the field once pronounced, 'Ideas in adult education walk.' Yet the study of adult education has not produced any 'normal science' to deal with the phenomena of traffic across cultural divides: in this respect it is important to recognize the varieties of

pilotage recorded in the following chapters, all steering under flags of convenience lettered as 'cross-cultural' or 'inter-cultural'.

Some of the work focuses on 'carriers' of influence which were primarily symbolic, and documents the kind of cross-cultural learning that came from the reading of the printed word. More pervasive (and of course overlapping with the symbolic mode) was what one might call mediated influence, impact through the advocacy of individuals or groups who adopted exotic ideas and made them accessible to their followers. Indeed, this seems to be an invariant part of attempts to transpose actual methods and institutions of adult education from one setting to another. Here important questions suggest themselves. Were those intermediaries makers or merely emblems of history? How do we articulate investigation of individuals and their followers with the abstractions of culture, class and political economy?

Another order of contact is face-to-face encounter between cultural strangers, a form of interaction which varies along dimensions of the exposed versus the insulated, or the everyday versus the exotic. An avowedly 'educative' frame of reference inevitably creates an arena which has a degree of insulation from (or within) everyday life. This much is obvious from the chapters touching on such divers topics as the negotiation of social meaning between immigrant minorities and the agencies of the welfare state in the Netherlands, the summer meetings of the university extension movements, and the various kinds of work-camp of the inter-war period. Clearly there is much to be said about the nature of the interpersonal, symbolic and cultural work which took place in those settings.

The work-camp theme introduces another subtlety, for the dominant form of camp was monoglot, in which cross-cultural learning (and resistance) have to be related to questions of vernacular collective identities, as distinct from international goodwill or curiosity. The camps provoked obvious confrontation at the social-class or caste barrier, between the rank and file and the 'officers'. But they also proffered mediation: the officer group, and indeed the whole institution in its official guise, serving to purvey some version or other of 'national identity' to alienated or previously excluded sub-groups.

A final complication to note here is that the stance of adult education in the confrontation of cultures may not always be one of learning from exotic example: it may rather be one of exploiting new discoveries for the purposes

of local self-assertion. Thus the importation of university extension to Belgium during the 1890s was tied up with questions of linguistic and sectarian rivalry. There are many hints from the next couple of decades that the enthusiasm across Central Europe for 'popular universities' was not disconnected from ethnic and nationalist self-discovery — a theme calling our for further exploration within the network.

Boundaries of research into adult education

'Adult education' means different things in different countries, and a study such as this inevitably draws attention to questions of definition. For example, the use of labour camps as a means of re-socialization, or the embedding of voluntary educational projects in broader cultural movements, suggest queries about where to locate the frontiers of what for convenience is called adult education. A concern detectable throughout this book is whether the 'obvious' and 'natural' categories of recognized practice can survive the probings of the critical historian.

In a somewhat trivial sense 'adult education' can be identified with the institutions which grow up to deliver education to adults. But that way lies the pitfall of the institutional fallacy. Hake's approach to the history of adult education in the Netherlands requires a critique of the 'preferred histories' which have arisen out of the very structures of Dutch adult education. A more general way of making the point is that when the history of adult education is produced by people close to its practice (as has been almost universally the case), the outcome is at the mercy of what the sociologist Veblen called 'trained incapacity'.

The question of boundaries is compounded by the failure of categories to transfer from one language to another: we suffer from an additional set of highly developed incapacities regarding other people's taken-for-granted worlds. An important instance is 'youth', which surfaces at several points in Part Two of this volume. The intersection of youth and adult movements, and the continuum of experience between them, seemed perfectly natural to continental European minds — and the overlap proved to be particularly rich in consequences in Germany during the first third of the twentieth century. But for English contemporaries (despite the encouragement they received from certain Germanophile groups) such a cognitive continuity

remained alien and found little convincing echo in their own social practices.

There have been over the last two decades new approaches to adult education, which have brandished theoretical tools of a kind which promised to overturn the conventional categories. The outcome, though, seems to carry a certain pathos. In a survey of the impact of 'cultural studies' on the intellectual progress of adult education in Britain, Griffin emphasizes the significance of 'other cultural forms' outside the educational system, and the boundary-breaking implicit in people's capacity to be socially innovative (Griffin 1989). And yet, as the drift of Griffin's own presentation implies, things have turned out rather differently. The emphasis on cultural reproduction has resulted in a direct transposition into adult education of the mainstream critical theorists' preoccupation with processes of schooling and the experiences of being schooled; the result has been to implant a radical critique within a modified, but still familiar practice of adult education. The pathos is that the institutions are given a shaking, but that their boundaries, even as objects of the researcher's attention, remain more or less in place.

Part One of this book is the most 'institutional', devoted as it is to university extension and popular universities, more or less structured, reformist movements which align naturally with what in later years was recognized as adult education. But even here the contributors constantly relate their material to wider issues. Thus van Damme on Belgium and de Vroom on the Netherlands, Steele and Marriott on broader swathes of Europe, and Coles on the special case of English exports to the United States all treat the 'people's universities' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as eruptions of deeper processes of social conflict and incorporation, or of cultural and linguistic self-assertion.

Part Two represents a deliberate broadening. Its chapters share an interest in social and ideational forces which reveal affinity with, but nevertheless refuse to be contained inside the tidy boundaries of public or voluntary agencies of 'education'. Chase and van Gent, in rather different kinds of 'history', are both concerned with the migration between cultures of orientations which were significant in their own right and had an almost incidental effect on adult educational activity. Field and Hake in their studies of the work-camp phenomenon in the unemployment years of the 1920s and 1930s appeal to a notion of the 'pedagogy of labour', which plainly offers a challenge to stereotyped notions, manufactured within adult education, of

social or personal formation and change, and also a reconsideration of the dialectical relationship between these processes. The other characteristic of Part Two is the focus on means to the shaping of collective identities and how these may be traded across cultural divides. Work camps are presented as an arena where existing, socially-differentiated identities were re-enacted, but also one for inculcating ideas of national regeneration. Kaus's study of workers' book clubs in Weimar Germany reveals a movement to strengthen, through symbolic communication across cultures, an entirely internationalist identity.

Part Three returns to the examination of institutionalized education, but within a context of imperialism and colonialism. Taylor on education in British India, and Titmus on the reception of a characteristically English mode of adult-educational provision in colonial Africa raise in especially insistent form large issues of cultural influence and distortion in situations where, for rather special reasons, inter-group relations were far from free and equal. In the *Conclusion*, Glastra and Kats continue the investigation of what light formal theories of communication may throw on the mass of historical specifics collected in a volume such as this. They note that the original 'transmission' metaphor gave way to an image of active construction of meanings by participants in the communication process — until this also disappointed expectations, as it slid towards a radical relativism in which any interpretation of a message seemed to be as good as any other. The account offered here of the 'argumentation' of social meanings merits a reworking in historical contexts.

Search activities

If there is a doubt about the boundaries of adult education, where might research redirect itself? An extreme and provocative argument is that 'the history of adult education' artificially wrenches elements out of the wider patterns with which the historian should be concerned: the promotion of such a 'specialism' represents a misdirection of scholarly time and effort. The point behind this provocation is worth considering: it is that efforts to produce change in consciousness or in social relations are legion, and that only a few become transmuted into practices of adult education. This can be illustrated again by the 'pedagogy of labour'. Hake suggests that Dutch and

German adult educators were able to come to terms with the work-camp phenomenon only by trying to attach a recognizably 'educational' element to the basic camp curriculum of hard physical labour. Field and Chase make the underlying issue even clearer: new social inventions may be designed to have a formative or transformative role, without at all being conceived or presented in the language of 'education'. Movements of land settlement and utopian experiment (whether communitarian or hierarchical in tendency) were themselves efforts to transcend received categories: it is a travesty to try to make sense of them as examples of 'rural adult education'.

Thus several contributors here are able to visualize their subjects in terms of social 'search', or the investigation of an alternative and more authentic order of social relations. Formalized learning might make a significant contribution; but it would be through supplying cognitive and moral resources, and offering an anticipation of engagement with the 'new life'. And oddly enough, as Steele has suggested, even the most structured and apparently conventional of educational movements could in moments of enthusiasm and optimism be experienced as an experiment in identity and a doorway to a new world.

Comparing

People are inveterate makers of comparisons, and comparing is a natural and inevitable component of their contacts with other countries and languages. The comparativists of everyday life acquire and elaborate their own theories, they are their own historians and social scientists.

It was a key factor in the origins of the present research network that it was not concerned with the comparative study of A on the one side and B on the other, but with something which fell in between A and B — the nature and consequences of contact between adult educators from different cultures. Its distinctive purpose was to observe figures from the past in the act of making comparisons; to take seriously their spontaneous and inherited orientations, and to explicate the influences on and the outcomes of what they were doing. This was a typically 'historical', rather than social-scientific procedure.

All those who figure in the cross-cultural histories of adult education were travellers, in various literal and metaphorical modalities. Travellers are associated with baggage, some of which is taken along and some of which is

acquired away from home. Significant among what is taken are the cultural assumptions, perspectives and expectations about how the 'other' will appear (considered at some length by contributors to the first volume in this series). The goods which are acquired during the course of visiting are equally significant. Items may be collected indiscriminately and without real appreciation of the context from which they are wrenched. Back in the home country they may be stored as curios, put to use with only a partial understanding of their original functions, or pressed into quite novel applications their makers could never have imagined for them.

This is all very interesting, but it will not satisfy the 'scientific' comparativist, whose aim is to break free from naturally-ocurring 'theories', and deploy higher-level constructs claiming greater analytical and explanatory value. In a recent contribution to the seemingly endless debate about the scientific bases of comparative studies in education this has been presented as the need to 'externalize' (Schriewer, 1992). The same argument has also been applied to the infant discipline of comparative history of education: it is alleged for example that when comparisons are made of how national systems have evolved historically, the systems tend to be taken on their own, local terms, and then simply contrasted, without a real attempt to generate an over-arching, independent concept of 'system' according to which genuine comparison could be undertaken (Schriewer and Harney, 1987).

The question is relevant here because several of the following chapters do raise questions of comparison, and do not rest content with merely local definitions; the approach may be from the direction of social science as much as from conventional history. Thus the phenomenon of university extension is placed in a general context of secular modernism; the studies of work camps appeal to high-level notions of the choices available to developed, but faltering economies in the 1920s and 1930s, and also of the incorporation of voluntary initiative into the state apparatus. This is to move in the direction of a political economy of adult-educational forms and their contested development. At the same time such theoretical notions are not yet well developed, and a task for the future is to decide how articulate such ideas are to be made. There is always a possibility, of course, that in the historical idiom represented here 'theoretical' notions do their best work when they are less than completely spelled out, and that a fully stated theory reveals itself as vacuous and a source of mechanical truisms.

The cross-cultural study of adult education is at an early stage, and its methods are not yet well developed. All the work reported here carries some mark of 'originality', but the preliminary or outline nature of much of it should be acknowledged. In a field so broad, and so little known, the first 'cross-cultural' approaches will most likely be through published and secondary material. To take such a project further would require complementary research on primary and archival sources from at least two countries; the logistical and financial barriers to such work in a marginal field like adult education do not need to be emphasized. The consequence is that, whilst much of the research underlying the chapters collected in this volume is actually based on close familiarity with certain classes of primary material, in its 'two-country' and comparative aspects there is still progress to be made in the matter of 'closeness to the sources'.

There are risks in work which is driven as a *pis aller* to the bibliographical survey. It may not progress beyond a sifting of the kind of conventional generalizations already on offer. It may end up in the same bracket as the loosest kind of 'history of ideas'. Correspondingly, there is the danger of paying too much attention to the personages and the prolific writers in adult education, the members of this or that apostolic succession, and so of reducing history to the hunt for 'influences' passed from one great cultural figure to the next down through time. That is particularly deficient as an approach to cross-cultural contacts beneath the level of the élite culture. The present state of discussion among members of the research network on the cross-cultural history of adult education, and their intentions for future work, acknowledge that without the corrective of better kinds of evidence, and better-articulated theory, one risks a misreading of the emergent, and usually ambiguous circumstances in which the processes of 'influence' actually reveal themselves.

Success and failure

A pervasive theme of the following chapters is the fate of cultural transfer. In the world of voluntary adult education that fate depends essentially on the emergence of an audience, and on the continuing involvement of a large number of virtually anonymous people. This is where the story threatens to become especially complicated. The 'audience' may be understood as a

precipitate of complex social interactions in the field of power and resources; or as a collective cultural actor, creating and consuming meanings; or no doubt in other ways too.

The problem can be rewritten as questions of whether an audience arises on a large enough scale to discharge the historical task identified and assigned by the minority of innovators. So de Vroom asks whether a 'movement' is to be located among the providers or the consumers, and interprets the weakness of university extension in the Netherlands as a consequence of its orientation to the interests of would-be providers. Coles offers a similar account of the failure of 'English-style' university extension to acclimatize under American conditions. In his chapter on the former Gold Coast, Titmus follows a rather contrasting historical evolution: there an apparently unlikely import to a tropical dependency served to unlock motivations among its consumers and somehow chimed with the requirements of rising indigenous groups.

In such contexts notions of success and failure are almost impossible to avoid, and yet they are contentious and have to be handled with great caution. The argument over whether we should admit them is in part a re-run of an ancient methodological confrontation, the difference between studying intentions and effects. Intentions, even if not uniquely significant, do remain of some importance; and, especially for those who approach from a policy-studies angle, the reasons for the success or otherwise of a group which sets out to innovate remain a legitimate focus. At the same time it has to be recognized that in real life intentions cannot be pursued in any consensual or linear way. In the field of transfers of practices between countries there is an added danger, a kind of latent cultural imperialism, in that the complexities of the situation may be reduced to simplistic questions of conformity to an external model.

In other words, for some contributors to this volume intentions as such are of subordinate interest. The question of what happens to an innovation is seen as much more complex and interesting than whether its sponsors were vindicated, and as something to be approached from a different conceptual angle. Discussion of the papers from which certain of the following chapters derived has pointed to their apparent dependence on criteria of success and longevity in assessing socio-educational innovations. Such notions have been represented as historically misleading and unhelpful. The alternative,

it is proposed, is to come to terms with the recognition that the attempt to change the world is a vastly complex undertaking, and that particular efforts (in which 'adult education' has been so much implicated) come and go endlessly, and relate to one another in endlessly complex ways.

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The University Extension movement (1892–1914) in Ghent, Belgium in comparative perspective

Dirk van Damme
University of Ghent

Introduction

The study of initiatives taken in Belgium during the late nineteenth century to mobilize the universities and their personnel in adult education offers a particularly interesting case for the comparative analysis of cross-cultural communication. Whilst in the French-speaking Walloon provinces, where the socialist movement had some very strong bases, the French model of *universités populaires* prevailed, in Flanders the English-inspired university extension movement spread out remarkably in the decades before the First World War.

This chapter explores some reasons for this divergence. Its particular focus is on developments at the University of Ghent, which pioneered university extension in Belgium. The case of Ghent serves also to clarify more general issues regarding the spread of university extension in continental Europe.

The social, political and educational context in Ghent

Social and political aspects

Ghent was one of the first cities on the Continent to industrialize, and it remained an industrial enclave in a largely agrarian Flanders throughout the nineteenth century. Industrialization began there towards the end of the eighteenth century and was mainly based on cotton manufacturies, supplemented later by the metal and linen industries. The factory system changed the outlook and social structure of the city. Ghent was radically transformed,

particularly after the middle of the century: in a couple of decades it became a largely proletarian city, with huge immigration and housing problems. The workers' movement, already established in the 1850s, was severely hit by the crisis in the cotton industry of the 1860s, but with the foundation of co-operative and mutual societies in the 1870s, it gained ground, so that in 1885 the Ghent socialists constituted one of the most important pillars of the Belgian Labour Party.

Educational policies

Ghent was governed by the local élite of mainly liberal manufacturers and professional men, who held municipal power for generations, as in most large Belgian cities, and who also dominated local cultural life. In contrast to the national government, which was very slow to confront the intensifying social challenges of the late nineteenth century, the liberal city council, hesitant and yet pace-setting, generated a range of responsive policies. Like the liberal reformers of other major Belgian cities, the council expected much from the expansion of working-class education, adopting the same radical-liberal ideology according to which acquisition of knowledge and intellectual enlightenment were the means of promoting social justice. Thus, free education was given high priority, particularly since school attendance was not compulsory (and did not become so until 1914). Families receiving municipal poor-relief were encouraged to send their children to school, and the majority did so. Gradually, the city authorities succeeded in getting more and more working-class children to attend school. At the same time, the Ghent liberals tried to regulate child labour.

Gradually, and in opposition to the city council, the Catholic Church and Catholic bourgeoisie, which held far more conservative views on education, also began to take an interest in schooling for the lower classes. The competition between these two groups increased in the 1860s, and over the next two decades, as elsewhere in Belgium, actually led to open conflict. This 'School War', in effect a conflict over the control of the schooling process, did not however slow down the expansion of the educational system. In sum, there would seem to have been a close relationship between the growth of public education on the one hand, and the social processes of industrialization, urbanization, and proletarianization along with increasing scope for local authorities and the rise of formal institutions on the other.

Both the liberal and the Catholic sections of the local élite took initiatives to supplement formal education by various non-formal projects directed at young people and adults. Although some of these projects may have recognized possibilities for social mobility through intellectual improvement, most had a very conservative aim, namely to permeate the entire working-class world with moralizing influences. For example, as a reaction against the Catholic *patronages*, the famous liberal law professor and reformer François Laurent founded the liberal workers' societies. They offered a range of educational and recreational activities to the youngsters of the municipal schools, but were also intended to complement the family and the school by exerting a moral influence on the 'bestialized' working class. Enlightenment, restoring a personal relationship between members of the lower and the higher classes, class conciliation, and also political integration went along with this fundamental aim of moralization (Simon and van Damme 1993).

There were other, more socially progressive tendencies in non-formal education, and foreign examples were influential in this respect. The radical-liberal pressure group *Ligue de l'Enseignement* (1864 — its French counterpart was founded in 1865) and organizations such as the *Société Franklin* were inspired by Dutch and French examples. The scope of these and similar societies was wide: popular libraries, recreational activities in music and theatre, excursions, and so on, were intended to provide a civilizing alternative to unlicensed leisure and the popular culture of the public house and gaming. These associations also set up or encouraged others to set up saving banks and *caisses de prévoyance*. However, the dominant educational practice was the public lecture. In most Belgian and European cities, the public lecture was a widespread phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century, and so it was in Ghent (Lory 1979; Vermeulen 1982).

The Flemish movement and adult education

The linguistic factor must also be taken into account. In nineteenth-century Flanders, French was the official language, used by the state apparatus, the church, the press, the intellectuals, the factory owners, whereas the great majority of the lower classes and large parts of the middle classes spoke Flemish. Thus social barriers were extended and reinforced by a linguistic barrier. The Flemish movement of the mid nineteenth century found

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increasing support among the same ambitious middle and professional classes as provided the social foundations of radical-liberal opinion: for these aspiring, young, educated men with roots in Flemish history and Dutch culture, language constituted an additional hindrance to mobility within the social system. In turn this contributed to a political radicalization of the Flemish movement in the 1850s and 1860s.

It was in this period that the movement took on an educational character. The Flemish association *Willemsfonds*, founded in 1851 after the example of the Dutch *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Society for the Common Benefit), used educational methods similar to those of the French-language associations: public lectures, libraries, theatre, and so on. After a period of collaboration, the *Willemsfonds*, like the rest of the Flemish movement, was faced with a widening internal rift between liberals and Catholics. In the 1870s, the moment of the 'pillarization' of Belgian society, the Catholics left the association and founded their own, very similar organization, the *Davidsfonds*. Alongside these two, a respectable number of other 'flamingant' associations and societies existed, all with more or less the same objectives and methods.

The 'flamingant' associations put even more emphasis on educational activities than did their French-speaking counterparts, because these activities promised to strengthen the cultural self-confidence of the Flemish people. Thus, social improvement through intellectual enlightenment, removal of class antagonisms by means of civilizing and moralizing incentives, and rediscovery of Flemish historical and cultural roots were the mutually reinforcing aims of the 'flamingant' associations of the 1870s and 1880s.

University Extension in Belgium

By the end of the 1890s dissatisfaction was growing with the rather traditional approaches which still dominated educational responses to the social problem. Some forward-looking thinkers considered it was time to modernize aims and methods, by adding an economic perspective to the traditional cultural emphasis in non-formal education, and by seeking more reformist responses to pressing social issues and political democratization.

In the eyes of these people time was very short. The immediate issue in Belgium was the prospect of universal suffrage. The social unrest and the socialist campaigns of the years 1886 and 1892–93 had moved the extension of the franchise to the top of the political agenda. Universal suffrage was one of the main demands of the socialist labour movement, and was supported by progressive liberals. More than ever, this 'revolution' had to be accompanied by an educational campaign in order to integrate the popular masses into the existing social order. In the words of Leclère (1893b: 6):

> Si la démocratie devenue la puissance du nombre reste ignorante, l'heure de sa domination marquera le début d'une ère d'agitation et de discours. Il est donc indispensable de l'instruire et les cours populaires, semblables a ceux de l'extension anglaise y contribueront puissament.

The English model

It was no coincidence that two young Flemish students from the University of Ghent, Pieter Tack and Lodewijk de Raet, believed that inspiration could come from the north of Europe. Radical 'flamingants' made a distinction between the 'South' and 'North'. They expected viable reformist ideas to come from northern, Germanic Europe and especially from England, 'the torch lighting Europe on the road that leads to the peaceful settlement of social conflicts' (Tack and de Raet 1892: 4).

That explains the lively interest taken in Toynbee Hall, settlement work, and also the English university extension movement. While some contemporary Belgian intellectual and social journals publicized Toynbee and the settlement idea, nowhere did there seem to be a willingness actually to make a start — in contrast, for example, to the Netherlands (van Gent 1991). It was university extension which was seen as a transferable educational practice.

Marriott has shown in a number of papers that an Anglophile attitude was not unusual among European adult educationists of the later years of the nineteenth century (Marriott 1987; Marriott and Coles 1991). What Flemish intellectuals and social reformers, like their German and French counterparts, admired in the English model was its attempt to achieve gradual social progress and class reconciliation through education. It appeared to show that educational, cultural and personal contact was the only way out of class conflict. University extension seemed like a viable strategy

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towards incorporation of the industrial classes by voluntary cultural transfer, a route towards social peace without confrontation, a precondition of democracy.

There was some disagreement among the 'flamingant' students of the English model as to what extent it could supersede the old (and obviously inadequate) public-lecture system. In an influential pamphlet Hirsch and Huisman pleaded for a faithful imitation of English practice. Of crucial importance to them were the following elements: a real social and geographical extension towards the masses who had been excluded from higher instruction; the recruitment of university personnel; a decentralized organization; properly structured and coherent courses and not series of loosely connected lectures; the didactic use of the syllabus, the class and written exercises; genuine examinations and diplomas; the involvement of representatives of working people in the local committees (Hirsch and Huisman 1895: 10; see also de Vroede 1979: 260). Others regarded exact imitation as unrealistic and pleaded for an adaptation to local needs and practices. Leclère for example considered the social and political objectives as more important than the particular methods (Leclère 1910: 238). This was closer to reality: no Belgian extension agency ever copied the English model exactly. One striking divergence was that none of the Belgian ventures was able to acquire a structural relationship with a university: all remained as voluntarist enterprises at the outer fringes of academic life.

Science and social progress

The striving for social control and political integration in an era of modernization and reform was supplemented by a scientistic and rationalist belief in the power of the transfer of objective knowledge and in the possibilities of a 'social technology'. As in other European countries, the reformist circles supporting university extension saw science as the ultimate confirmation of the efficiency and progress of bourgeois society. The fruits of scientific discovery must be brought to the people. This was no new view, and elsewhere there had been attempts to popularize science through public lectures, evening classes and mechanics' institutes (Inkster 1980; Shapin and Barnes 1976; Keane 1986; Kuritz 1981; Laurent 1984). The promoters of university extension were clearly in this tradition: 'The fact is that social tensions have grown between the classes, largely because those who are

engaged in scientific work have lived too much in social isolation. Their often praiseworthy endeavour remains unknown to the common people and is not respected.' (*Vereeniging* 1901: 29). The balance of nature, as revealed by scientific research, offered a model for the rational reorganization of the social order. The workers would see that a harmonious relationship between the social classes corresponded to the rationality of the natural world.

It is therefore not surprising that the university extension movement was supported by rationalist and positivist scientists. People like the progressive and influential Solvay, and Waxweiler of the Brussels University nursed great expectations of popularization. In contrast to England, where the mechanics' institutes had long been active in this field, earlier forms of adult education in Belgium had shown only a marginal interest in science.

For the 'flamingant' faction, the idea was closely linked to the demand for a scientific practice in their vernacular language. The movement needed to recognize the importance of economic development, and hence of scientific progress; but as long as the universities remained exclusively French, the emancipation of the Flemish nation would be obstructed. Through university extension the 'flamingant' intellectuals intended to prove that Dutch was a language fitted for scientific practice.

Extension in Belgium

University extension actually began in Ghent in 1892. It was an enterprise of liberal and 'flamingant' professors and students at the University, supported by associations such as the *Willemsfonds* and the radical student organization *'t Zal Wel Gaan*. It will be considered in detail below.

At the University of Brussels Léon Leclère was able in 1893 to activate a number of reform-minded professors, and thus to set up the *Extension universitaire de Bruxelles*. This initiative became a highly successful one, until it was swept away in the conflict between the university hierarchy and progressive students and professors which led to the founding of the radical *Université Nouvelle* in 1894 (van Rooy 1976). The Brussels extension was placed in the hands of this new institution, but its position was considerably weakened. As a reaction, the *Extension de l'Université libre de Bruxelles* was founded at the old university, which provided the new extension some financial support. The two bodies, which moved closer together over the following years; were to prove in quantitative terms the most important ones

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in Belgium. They had the greatest number of local branches and their activities spread over the provinces of Brabant, Hainaut and Liège. They were also active in Flemish towns and villages, and as will be seen, that repeatedly caused friction with the branches of the Ghent extension. Initiatives on a smaller scale existed also in Liège.

In a second wave a number of Catholic extension ventures were started. The success of the liberal associations caused some unease among the more enlightened Flemish Catholic intellectuals. They were not prepared to accept that the liberals, and in some cases socialists, should be allowed to occupy a more and more important domain of social reform and educational practice. Although the liberals believed that scientific popularization would speak for itself, and avoided using extension as an instrument of direct political propaganda, the Catholics feared its potential longer-term political effects. It was the case that in this period the important political blocs were establishing for themselves a base of mass-support by encouraging all kinds of affiliated or controlled social and educational initiatives. The idea of university extension was antithetic to Catholic traditions in adult education and there was considerable resistance among Catholics to the sacrilegious idea of scientific popularization. If they were to become involved, they would have to concern themselves with the reconciliation of science and religion.

For that reason Catholic efforts in extension were based on denominational organizations, created for the defence of religion and the Church. The first was established in 1898 in Antwerp, the *Katholieke Vlaamsche Hoogeschooluitbreiding* (Catholic-Flemish University Extension), followed by an identical initiative in Ghent in 1906. Both were supported by Catholic 'flamingant' circles and came together in 1907 as the *Algemeene Katholieke Vlaamsche Hoogeschooluitbreiding*. Because it was able to operate within the powerful social network of Catholic organizations and movements, this body achieved a major expansion.

By 1914 there were almost fifty extension associations and local branches operating in the Flemish part of Belgium. In the Walloon provinces, the development was less successful, except in Brussels. The rivalry with the *universités populaires* was keen, and sometimes a new university extension body was established in opposition to the more socialist-inclined popular universities. Such was the case with the *Extension universitaire belge*, founded in 1901 in Schaarbeek near Brussels (de Vroede 1979).

Origins and organization of university extension in Ghent

Origins

The pioneering Ghent association had two main origins. On the one hand it followed the path of liberal non-formal and adult education in the city, and on the other it expressed the new shift among 'flamingant' intellectuals towards *cultuurflamingantisme*. Concerning the first element, all the protagonists of the Ghent initiative, and especially Paul Frédericq, were closely connected with the liberal élite and were well acquainted with earlier liberal social and educational practices. The educational spirit of François Laurent, even though he was a fervent 'anti-flamingant', was very much present (Simon and van Damme 1993).

As for the second aspect, the term 'cultuurflamingantisme' refers to a number of programmatic changes within the Flemish movement. Briefly, it stands for a cultural-political reformulation of the classic linguistic objectives of the movement. The general objective was a restoration of the national energy and vitality of the Flemish people, the *volkskracht* as Lodewijk de Raet, the most important ideologue of this period, called it. Despite appearances, this expression has no proto-fascist connotations; rather it relates to the social utilization of the productive energies potentially present in a people. It presupposes social peace, and the reconciliation of class antagonisms, which are seen as unproductive impediments to social and national progress. Since 'volkskracht' depended on the educational and cultural uplifting of the people, scientific work in the vernacular language, popularization of science, and so forth, were to be encouraged. Not surprisingly, the central issue of the new Flemish movement was the 'vernederlandsing' of the University of Ghent, its transformation into a Dutch-speaking institution, realized at last in 1930.

It is not difficult to comprehend the enthusiasm for university extension among this new generation of young, intellectual 'flamingants' and the forward-looking professors who supported them. It fitted perfectly the new trend of the Flemish movement, it was congruent with the liberal tradition in adult education, it was feasible with the human resources available among the intellectuals at the Ghent university and, equally important, it would support the social and professional aspirations of the same educated middle classes.

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Foundation and organization

The extension committee was established on 18 September 1892. It included four leading students of the radical 'flamingant' student movement *'t Zal Wel Gaan* (P. Tack, J. Pée, H. de Marez, M. Sabbe) and Professor Paul Frédericq, all from the university department of Dutch philology and literature. Not surprisingly the first year was devoted to Flemish and Dutch history and Dutch, German and English literature. The first lecture, given by Frédericq on 7 November on Dutch literature, was jubilantly reported in the Dutch-language press, especially in the liberal newspaper *Het Volksbelang* and the 'flamingant' student paper *De Goedendag*. Also the socialist *Vooruit* published an enthusiastic article and encouraged the workers to attend the classes.

The central committee was clearly dominated by Frédericq (Coppens 1990). He recruited potential lecturers, contacted people in surrounding villages to establish local committees, undertook official relations with the academic authorities, organized the meetings of the committee, gave a remarkable number of courses and classes himself, and even invested his own money into the project. He played a crucial role in policy- and decision-making; he had no great confidence in the other committee members, with the exception of one of his students who acted as his private secretary. The recruitment of other professors from the Ghent university (Mac Leod and Vercoullie among them) as lecturers and committee-members did not alter the fact that this was a voluntarist enterprise, controlled by one man.

Already during the first year a dispute arose concerning attendance fees. In their original plan Tack and de Raet followed the English model and defended the imposition of fees. In their view university extension was an advance on the old model of bourgeois missionary charity. Because extension was to be based on mutual respect between lecturers and audiences, admission fees were perfectly justifiable. The socialists themselves regarded this question as fundamental: popular education provided as charity was humiliating to the working classes. The Brussels extension accepted the argument against charity, and for the added practical reason that an admission fee might motivate students to attend throughout a course.

The fact that the Ghent committee did not follow this line was one of the reasons why the socialist press became more critical, even to the point of

opposing the initiative. Frédericq had practical reasons for the decision, but it is clear that he was rooted in more traditional liberal thinking than were the younger students. The funding of the organization was dependent on private gifts and charity; Frédericq was prepared to pay the deficit himself.

Another issue facing the committee was that of institutional standing. Tack and de Raet dreamed of genuine recognition as a department for extramural studies of the university, and of forging the spearhead of a future Dutch-language university. Institutional recognition and official subsidies would also resolve some of the practical problems: fees could be offered and high-quality lecturers attracted. Again, Frédericq disagreed: institutionalizing the project would endanger its independence. He also opposed the idea of large-scale institutionalized initiatives subsidized by the state, and insisted that the intellectual emancipation of the Flemish people was to be realized through personal efforts on the part of the enlightened classes. It was clear that once more Frédericq did not share the ambitions of his students, and acted more conservatively, perhaps also more prudently. His 'paternalistic voluntarism', as Katz would call it, prevented a fully institutional development, and so the Ghent extension remained an under-developed project bearing the marks of charity (Katz 1975). In this and other respects it lost some of its more progressive features and departed gradually from the social and educational innovations of the university extension movement as it existed in England and elsewhere.

Local branches and relations with the Brussels extension

From the start it was clear to the founders that the initiative should not remain confined to Ghent. Its ambitious objectives required that it should spread to the small towns and villages of mainly agrarian Flanders, just as the Flemish movement's quest for a mass-basis required it to break out of its urban, middle-class bounds. Since the small towns were dominated locally by a French-speaking, conservative and often Catholic élite, it was a major challenge for the liberal 'flamingants' to encourage local branches. Activities were undertaken outside Ghent, in seventeen places in fact, but not surprisingly they led a very uncertain life. Success depended entirely on finding someone willing to undertake the whole project. Most of the local committees had only a very brief existence. Their political character tended to be less marked than that of the Ghent committee, and sometimes even

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Catholic notables were members. This reflected a deliberate choice, again on the part of Frédericq, not to impose a structure on local initiatives. He believed that branches must maintain explicit autonomy, and even opposed attempts to get general agreement on practical administrative matters.

Therefore it is no surprise that a plan for a more structured federation of extension committees failed to win a majority in the Ghent committee. From 1903 onwards certain new and ambitious committee-members pressed the advantages of this idea: a federation, they argued, would have a better chance of obtaining subsidies from public authorities and important fund-raising bodies such as the *Ligue de l'enseignement*; it would strengthen the work of the local committees, raise their visibility and encourage expansion to new areas. Frédericq, along with his private secretary Basse, was strongly opposed, and in fact was prepared to depend entirely on his own personal contacts. Again his attitudes impeded a broadening of the scope of the work and the development of improved structures.

The conflicts arising from 1895 between the Ghent extension and the far more radical Brussels extension and its local branches were also typical manifestations of these attitudes. It was not only the linguistic problem and the 'flamingant' character of the Ghent project that made it different from the Brussels extension. Frédericq clearly felt threatened by the competition. For its part, the Brussels extension took a rather superior attitude; although Leclère himself mentioned the Ghent initiative approvingly in an article in the *Revue universitaire* (Leclère 1893a), the French-language press maintained a systematic silence. When in 1893 Emile Vandervelde, a leading socialist politician and intellectual who was involved in the foundation of the Brussels extension committee, published a plea for a national scheme, with Brussels as headquarters and Ghent and Liège as regional centres, the Ghent committee had already become suspicious. Feelings of being threatened intensified when several attempts to establish local committees in Flemish towns failed as a consequence of prior activity by the Brussels association.

These frictions were connected with more serious differences of opinion. First of all there was a dispute about the quality of extension work. In his book of 1895 Hirsch, member of the *Extension universitaire de Bruxelles*, accused the Ghent movement of not being genuine. Hirsch, who had argued for faithful imitation of the English approach, alleged that the Ghent extension lacked certain central elements, such as systematic use of the class

and the syllabus, written exercises and examinations. He also criticized the use of students as lecturers, and was not the only one to do this. It seems likely that some local committees were affected by this argument and preferred to work with the apparently superior Brussels organization.

Another issue concerned neutrality. Frédericq accused Brussels of failing to respect ideological neutrality, and of favouring rationalist and positivist thinking. Whilst the Ghent lecturers refused absolutely to deal with current social or political issues, the Brussels extension was quite prepared to include social sciences in its programme. Frédericq found it unacceptable that, as happened in Brussels, a socialist politician like Vandervelde should lecture on social philosophy. Although de Raet argued through the student paper *De Goedendag* that in social matters neutrality was impossible, and that extension could not be prevented from dealing with such questions, the Ghent committee insisted rigorously on neutrality in its courses.

Tensions came to a head in certain events during 1895. Early in the year there was the refusal by Ghent to attend a conference organized by the *Extension universitaire de Bruxelles*. Since the declared purpose of the conference was to promote co-operation among the various extension agencies, the Ghent committee felt its autonomy endangered and declined the invitation. A more direct confrontation occurred as a result of a separate move to establish a *Comité gantois des extensions universitaires*, which planned to operate by inviting various bodies to mount courses in Ghent. Its rules were that admission fees should be charged—a point on which the well-known socialist leader Anseele had already criticized the Ghent extension—and that different political opinions would be given a platform. The initiative for this new committee came from a number of socialists and liberal progressives, including the influential lawyer and town councillor Varlez, and was seen, rightly so, as an attempt by the Brussels extension to gain a foothold in Ghent.

An attempt to win the co-operation of Frédericq and his committee foundered on certain symbolically important and therefore sensitive issues. Frédericq rejected the suggestion that Vandervelde should give lectures on social questions. He equally resisted the idea of making provision for the socialist association *Vooruit*, since that would be to exclude anti-socialist labour and the liberal workers' association. The case of the Ghent extension against the *Comité gantois* was characteristic: it refused to abandon the idea

of scientific education in the Flemish vernacular, it claimed that it was seeking not to provoke class struggle but to reconcile class antagonisms through cultural exchange, it wished to uphold strict neutrality, and so on.

Although this attempt failed, in the long run the Brussels extension met with success in many other Flemish towns. Its larger resources, the official support of the Brussels University and the preference of most local élites for a French-language initiative, all helped strengthen its position in Flanders, something which Frédericq himself had to recognize in 1904.

Educational aspects

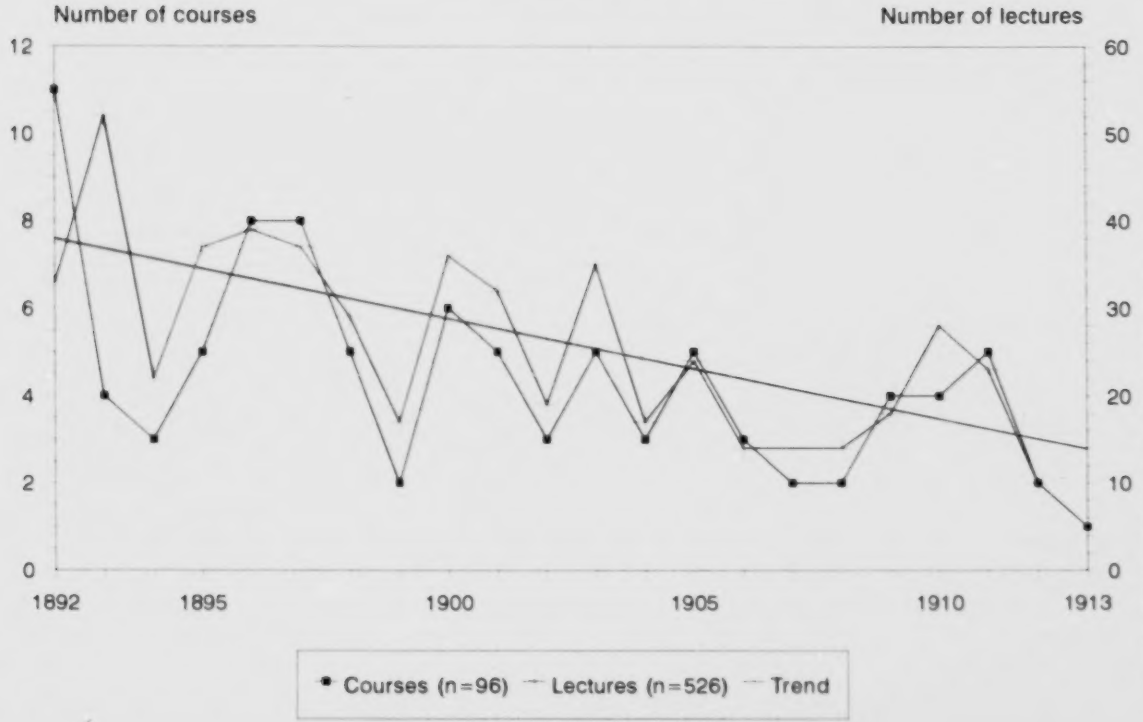
The Ghent extension, *Hooger Onderwijs voor 't Volk*, aimed, as its title made clear, to bring scientific knowledge and higher culture to the ordinary people. Its educational character can be inferred from reports on the lecture-courses which appeared in a number of sympathetic journals. The liberal newspaper *Het Volksbelang*, of which Frédericq was editor-in-chief, and the 'flamingant' student periodicals *De Goedendag* and *'t Zal Wel Gaan* were especially notable for their regular coverage of extension. Through them it has been possible to reconstruct a complete list of the extension lectures from 1892 to 1913. For most of the courses some qualitative evidence is also available, either in the press or in the minutes of the extension committee.

Extension courses

From 1892 to 1913, the Ghent committee organized ninety-six courses averaging just under six lectures each, or 526 lectures in total. As can be seen from Figure 1 (page 25) the trend of activity was significantly downwards. After the first enthusiastic season, the number of courses and lectures fell sharply; difficulties increased from year to year, and repeatedly the committee and Frédericq himself were forced to devote much effort to mobilizing new lecturers and voluntary helpers.

In Figure 2 (page 27) the subjects of these courses are classified. The largest category unquestionably was literature and language (thirty-seven out of ninety-six courses). Particularly in the early years interest in Dutch, German and English literature was remarkably high. The origins and composition of the extension committee, as already noted, were a significant factor here. Its members were highly conscious of the linguistic thrust of the Flemish

Figure 1. Evolution of extension courses and lectures (1892-1913)



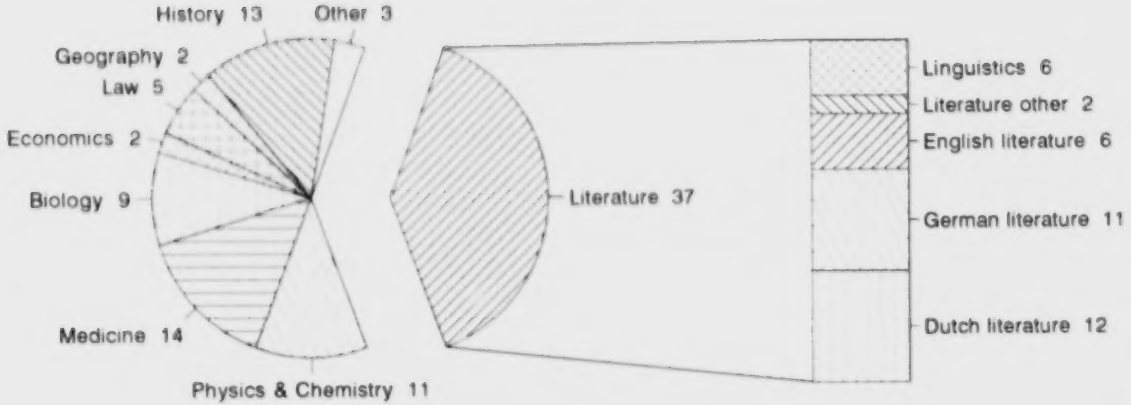
movement and of the need in university extension to restore the ties between the ordinary Flemish people and their celebrated historic culture. Introducing the great men of letters of the Flemish and Dutch past to the Flemish people would raise what was called its *stambewustzijn* (affinity with, awareness of the racial-national lineage). German and English literature would demonstrate that this national culture of the Flemish and Dutch people was part of a larger whole, namely the 'Germanic' civilization, which stood in opposition to the Latin.

This nationalistic reasoning was explicitly associated with a political argument: class antagonisms and social struggle were seen as characteristic of a Southern-European mentality with its roots in Jacobinism and revolutionary tradition. There was an influential idea that Germany as a rising economic power, and England perceived as the cradle of social reform, offered real alternatives to the French and Latinate influences which were held responsible for the turmoil (that is, the social revolt of 1886 in the Walloon industrial areas) which had so recently shocked the country. National consciousness, and political harmony and cultural uplift were obviously regarded as sides of the same coin, and the study of 'Germanic' literature and language was expected to further both of them. According to de Wolf (1895: lxiii–lxxiv):

> And in that same classroom, where, mostly in a foreign language, the higher learning was given to a few favoured auditors, the Dutch tongue resounded for the people and it revealed its culture, its language, its arts, its famous men of the present day and of past centuries. The lectures on Dutch, English and German literature have opened the eyes of the audience to the national civilization of the Flemish people, that is, Dutch civilization, and have given them a view of a new and unknown culture, Germanic culture, which is so enormously important today. [University Extension] makes many citizens, who have received a French education, familiar with the spoken Dutch language, acquaints them with Dutch work in all fields of scholarship, and initiates them into a Dutch civilization, the existence of which, as they kept their eyes on the 'South', they probably did not even suspect.

This strong emphasis on literature was not universally welcomed. During a debate on university extension in the radical Flemish student organization *'t Zal Wel Gaan*, some pleaded for a more utilitarian approach, on the grounds that people would not be interested in what they did not really need. Although literature and language remained an essential part of the extension

Figure 2. Subjects of extension courses (1892-1913)



(n=96)

programme, gradually the Ghent programme broadened to include subjects better matched to conceptions of 'useful knowledge' held by the workers themselves.

Understandably, the natural sciences were seen as the most appropriate. Earlier efforts by the Flemish scientist Mac Leod at the University's botanical gardens had uncovered a sufficient public interest in science. The arrival of new committee members, recruited from outside the Germanic department, made it possible from 1894 to organize lectures in the natural sciences. The first were on biology; then from 1896 courses on physics and chemistry were held in the new building of the university, where the classes could include practical laboratory work.

The extension movement as a whole was characterized by admiration for the triumphs of the age in scientific discovery. The ordinary people ought not to be left in ignorance of this great expansion of the natural sciences; awareness of its results would lead to recognition of the benefits of modern industrial society. From an understanding of the logic of natural processes would come insight into the rationality of the social system, and this in turn would convince the workers that opposing its harmony was just as absurd as attempting to resist the laws which governed the natural world. This attitude was reinforced by the 'flamingant' campaign to win recognition for scientific work in Dutch. Those who lectured on natural science in the extension programme were scientists seeking to make Dutch science respectable; they laid the foundations of the future scientific development of Flanders and the eventual 'vernederlandsing' of the University of Ghent.

Courses on medical topics appeared in 1896 and remained important for many years afterwards. They were expected to prove popular, but were also justified on the grounds that popularization of modern medical findings would improve health standards and promote hygienic attitudes among the people. Thus, famous medical doctors gave lectures on topics such as tuberculosis, the care of infants, and cholera. Some of the lectures in physics and biology could also be seen as medically orientated, such as those on water and milk, food, hazardous insects, and so on. It is evident that the lecturers wished to influence the actual behaviour of the audiences, and often this implied an over-simplified criticism of popular life-styles and cultures. As seemed to be usual among the élite intellectuals and social reformers of the time, medical and hygienic issues were reduced to the supposed immorality

and even bestiality of the industrial working classes. Child mortality, for example, was something for which parents themselves were to be blamed. And in the unusual event of a medical course declining in popularity, the workers could again be blamed in the same moralizing way. These courses were applauded by the socialists for their usefulness; after each lecture a summary was published in the newspaper *Vooruit*, and the socialist party even helped members to attend classes.

A third expansion in the list of subjects was far more contentious, for, as already noted in reference to the problem of neutrality, the social sciences were not considered appropriate for extension lectures. In 1895 the Ghent committee did give cautious approval to a course on economics, to be delivered by Waxweiler who was a collaborator of the sociologist Solvay at the Brussels *Institut de Sociologie*. Although it proved to be a big success and there were no complaints that neutrality had been compromised, the committee nevertheless refrained from further initiatives of the kind.

On the other hand, history, which appeared on the extension programme from 1897, soon became a regular subject. Most historical lectures were related to the great cultural and national past or were marked by a manifest romantic interpretation of Flemish history. Their focus was often the Middle Ages, and most of were given by able members of the distinguished school of Ghent historians.

Lecturers and didactic aspects

Who then were the lecturers? By far the biggest and active group were the university professors. Among these was a core group who taught a large number of courses and lectures and who were prepared, at Frédericq's request, to fill gaps in the programme. Next were the professors' assistants, who were particularly well represented in the natural science subjects. Equally important were teachers from the municipal secondary schools who had remained in touch with their professors. Overall, a large majority of the extension lecturers were academics belonging to or connected with the University of Ghent. Some were famous in their own academic fields. Many were members of or had good relations with the 'flamingant' and liberal circles and organizations from which the movement had grown.

The involvement of university students was a special case, and was much discussed throughout the university extension movement. The fact that in

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the first session some of the lectures were delivered by students provoked substantial criticism; it seemed to have had an effect, and from the third year onwards students no longer lectured. Although they had contributed significantly to the establishment of the work in Ghent, and although they themselves saw it as a social and political expression of their commitment to the Flemish cause, their role was soon limited to providing help as auxiliaries.

The distinctive and innovative qualities of university extension are usually located in the didactic novelty of the 'system': the integration of separate lectures into a course, the use of the class for discussion, the syllabus, the written exercises, the examinations. We noted earlier the discussion which took place on the extent to which the English model should be imitated. Initially the Ghent committee did not faithfully copy the special educational and didactic features of the extension method; the lectures were not really integrated into a real course, there was no class, no syllabuses. Hirsch, Huisman and other observers severely criticized the Ghent approach, which as far as they could see did not represent any advance on the old tradition of public lectures.

From the second year, at least according to the extension committee, things were to change: lectures would be combined into courses, attention would be given to the 'class', printed syllabuses would be issued, and so on. Not all these brave intentions could be put into practice. Unpublished records and press reports show that class-work was not systematically implemented. Syllabuses were issued for only a small minority of the courses (sixteen have been traced, mostly in natural sciences). The relationship between the lecturing professor and the audience was uninspiring, and the listeners were not stimulated to become more active learners. Other notable features of the full university extension model, such as written exercises and examinations, field-trips and travelling libraries, were never part of the Ghent practice.

The only educational aid to be systematically exploited was the demonstration. Lectures in science and medicine were generally accompanied by experiments and demonstrations. Lantern slides were also used. The aim was to attract and to hold the attention of the audience and to arouse feelings of admiration and respect for the wonders of nature.

In summary, the Ghent extension courses seem to have been rather conventionally academic lectures which made heavy demands on the

listeners and were not very well adapted to their educational needs. The contents were in all probability somewhat alien to them, even though certain scientific and cultural topics may have aroused the curiosity and admiration of some of these 'travellers in a strange country' (see Rowbotham 1981). Although the extension committee itself did not doubt the usefulness and efficiency of its efforts, one may question the appropriateness and relevance of this educational model for the objectives university extension could reasonably have adopted.

Audiences and their responses

To pursue such an evaluation fully the reactions of the audiences must be taken into account, and this is a question which is of course very difficult to investigate. Again the only available evidence is that of the minute-books and published reports. From the second year onwards, the Ghent committee decided to collect information on audiences. This was done by means of small cards, distributed and collected by the student-assistants, and filled in by the listeners themselves. On the basis of these crude returns, statistics were published in the press. Since these figures were used as a promotional device, they must be used with caution, but in some cases there are other sources which allow an additional check.

Numbers

For two-thirds of the lectures from 1893 onwards there are more-or-less reliable data on the size of the audiences. These probably involve an overestimate, since for the majority of courses only the attendance at the first lecture is recorded. Neither is it possible to be sure that some published figures are not aggregates of attendances throughout a course.

With these precautions in mind, some interesting comments may still be made. The numbers of listeners per lecture varied between 12 and 121, with an average of 60. Some rather enthusiastic assertions in the published reports that the big lecture hall of the faculty of philosophy and arts was completely filled must be queried. Figures could fluctuate significantly between different courses, and between lectures in a single course. The only clear determining factor of these variations seems to be time of year: numbers were very much higher during the winter, and that caused the extension committee to concentrate its activities in this season.

The committee was happy with these results. Several times reports claim that the large numbers of participants proved the need for extension work in Flanders and the viability of scientific work in the Dutch language. (If numbers fell off or failed to meet expectations, the committee found it easy to put the blame on the 'utilitarian' or 'materialistic' attitude of the ordinary people.) The more plausible explanation of this quite successful record is that it resulted from recruitment through the agency of sympathetic liberal and 'flamingant' associations like the *Willemsfonds*. The Ghent extension project was embedded in a social and cultural, even political, network of related associations and organizations which provided financial aid and lecturers as well as audiences.

Women

Although in England the growth of university extension was associated with demands for the higher education of women, there is no sign of this in Flanders. According to the evidence so far located women counted on average for some thirty per cent of the audience, a quite high proportion. The female occupations recorded on the cards were mostly primary-school teachers, seamstresses, dressmakers and housekeepers; there was a large group without stated occupation.

The extension committee exhibited considerable ambivalence about female participation. On the one hand it stressed the practicality and usefulness for women of the lectures. The small attendance of working women at the medical courses, for example, was viewed with regret, for it was they who would find such lectures particularly useful. But there are also occasional comments which show a rather conservative attitude: 'Women must learn to know their children and to raise them. This is something they too often forget, in order to get involved with other things, such as higher education for example'. Higher education for women was justified only if it served a clear social purpose in supporting traditional female roles, as was the case with lectures on child mortality and hygiene. But even then, the committee remained very careful: when in 1902 a well-known doctor proposed taking a course on women's medical problems, to be open only to women, the suggestion was rejected unanimously on the grounds that it would cause rumours and bring discredit, something the extension scheme could not tolerate.

Thus, there was no recognition of the idea that extension classes might serve to promote higher education for women. In this respect too the Ghent extension proved to be far less broad-minded than its counterpart in Brussels, in which some noted (male) feminists were involved and where the extension courses were seen as a promotional channel for the middle-class women's movement.

Social characteristics

The largest section of the audience was composed of people professionally engaged in education, that is teachers from primary and secondary schools. In a sample of forty-three lectures for which detailed information is available, teachers accounted for fifteen per cent of participants, and in several courses they were even better represented. In published reports the importance of extension lectures to this group was repeatedly emphasized and acclaimed. It was believed that teachers would exert a 'multiplier effect' and transmit knowledge gained from extension classes to other social groups. Students and pupils, especially from the municipal schools, made up sixteen per cent of the occupational groups identifiable in the sample. Their participation varied significantly, which suggests that sometimes entire classes attended the lectures on a more or less organized basis. The fact that these two categories together accounted for one third of the total audience on average, illustrates the close links of university extension to the educational world. The strong interest taken by educational periodicals such as *De Toekomst* in university extension is further evidence of the connection.

The other professions mentioned in the published sources do not lend themselves easily to a systematic classification. A large proportion can be considered as lower-middle-class: artisans, craftsmen, traders and retailers, clerks and workers with some education. Upper-middle-class professions are mentioned far less frequently, and factory workers are almost completely absent. Although the occupational designations of workers in the textile industries were unambiguous, and are easily recognizable (weavers, spinners, etc.), they are not to be found in the lists. This indicates clearly that the movement did not reach the core of the industrial working classes in the city.

This is not surprising, for most nineteenth-century ventures in adult education were in reality middle-class phenomena and the liberal and 'flamingant' nature of the Ghent extension only reinforced this. The

extension committee and the promoters of courses did not regret the middle-class orientation of their work. They realized that the scope for scientific, higher education was limited to a public with some schooling, and that the great majority of the industrial workers could not therefore be approached directly. The middle classes were assigned a mediating role in the intended processes of social change: 'The middle class, does it not need enlightenment as much as the lower classes? Shall its progress towards civilization not affect the lower classes in turn?' (Tack 1894: liv). The aim of 'cultuurflamingantisme' was clearly to create an educated Flemish élite, which would 'extend' its culture to lower strata and in that way raise the level of civilization of an entire nation.

Responses and effects

The important question here is whether this social dynamic also received reinforcement 'from below'. Did the audiences themselves feel scientific curiosity, and hence a need for educational enlightenment? Although biographies which might account for the individual and social effects of 'travelling in a strange country' are not available, the published reports contain information which may be used with caution. These reports often mention enthusiastic responses from the audiences: applause, loud acclamations, public thanks and expressions of gratitude at the end of a course. In the minute-books favourable evaluations of lecturers are recorded. This suggests that for some part of the extension courses the experiences of both listeners and lecturers were positive.

In this period the Flemish movement gained much support among the educated urban bourgeoisie. For these middle-class 'flamingants', university extension was an entry into the world of science and high culture which legitimized intellectual work in the Dutch language. Many decades later, with the establishment of the Dutch university of Ghent in 1930, many would refer to the important contribution of the extension movement in shaping the political aspirations and sensitivities of a generation of 'flamingants'. For a large part of the audience, however, university extension must have missed its aim. Its content was surely too elevated to meet the real needs of those attending. With the exception of the medical lectures, the topics treated were not relevant to the everyday lives of even educated middle-class people, and important contemporary issues were strictly excluded. The

lectures could not have met the need for 'useful knowledge' among the ordinary people; on the contrary, popular attitudes and popular cultures were acknowledged in the discourse of the extension classes only in a negative and stigmatizing sense.

Concluding remarks

University extension in Ghent had much in common with other attempts of the late nineteenth century to transpose the English movement to different social and cultural contexts. Of course, borrowing from foreign exemplars was nothing new in nineteenth-century educational policies. Inspecting new social initiatives and educational institutions in other European countries was a common practice among the reform-minded intellectual classes; many of these people had extensive international contacts and reported on them in print.

University extension was part of and subject to the major currents in European social policy and political reform. The 1890s witnessed a profound transformation of social policy, as a consequence of economic and political change. The transformation of the economy resulted in a gradual reformulation of social issues, and the unavoidable democratization of the political order compelled the dominant classes to revise their attitude to the lower ranks of society and the relationship between the state and civil society. Emphasis was now placed on the social, political and cultural integration of the labouring classes, as a necessary condition of orderly progress and social peace. This striving to promote the integration of the lower classes was present in a range of late-nineteenth-century social policies: the evolution of charity and poor relief in the direction of social insurance, promotion of wider home ownership, improvement of domestic conditions, sanitary and hygienic reforms, and so on. (Lis, Soly and van Damme 1985: 182–197).

University extension was favoured by those who regarded the drive for social integration as a personal obligation on the culturally enlightened. It was through direct contact and cultural mediation between the civilized élite and the ignorant workers that social harmony could be restored, or as Samuel Barnett expressed it with reference to the settlement movement (cited Evans 1984: 145–146):

> The establishment of settlements is the work of those who believe that the gifts to modern times are good; that culture is gain, not loss; that cleanliness is better than dirt, beauty better than ugliness, knowledge better than ignorance [...]. Settlements stand as an acknowledgement of the claims of all citizens to share in these good things [...]. They express the desire on the part of those 'who have' to see, to know, and to serve those 'who have not'.

The position of Frédericq was significant in this respect, but testified also to the contradictions of this attitude. As we have seen, he persistently rejected an institutional and professionalized elaboration of university extension which would have transcended the personal, charitable approach. In contrast with younger, more progressive promoters of extension work and in opposition for example to the Brussels association, he insisted on voluntarism, refused to introduce admission charges, opposed integrating extension into the university. In his conception it remained a paternalistic and a missionary venture. Frédericq thus clearly remained with both feet in the older, and more conservative, liberal tradition — personified in Ghent by his famous predecessor, François Laurent — which still saw social policy as an expression of paternalist philanthropy (Simon and van Damme 1993). To Frédericq the English example was interesting because he could see in it a proof that social progress and the successful incorporation of the working classes were attainable by voluntary and personal initiative, by self-government with the minimum of state interference. This was regarded as a promising alternative to the French (and in this respect also the German) state-bureaucratic approach to social policy. Marriott and Coles (1991) have shown that this Anglophile admiration for self-government and resistance to state regulation was a common attitude among Continental enthusiasts for university extension.

Of course, not all proponents of university extension were of the same mind. The Brussels extension for example was definitely embedded in a much more progressive radical-liberal approach to social and educational policy. In contrast to the Catholics and the conservative, 'doctrinaire' liberals, the radicals, organized in the *Ligue de l'enseignement*, defined the progress of the labouring classes in terms of a gradual emancipation from domination and paternalism. The educational transfer of knowledge would free the workers from ignorance and also from the tutelage of the upper classes. Exposure to the cultural and scientific achievements of bourgeois

society would by itself moderate the aspirations of working men and foster their political integration. For these radical liberals, a belief in the virtues of self-government required old attitudes to be left behind and an approach to be made to working men as equal and sovereign beings. Therefore, the requirement that admission fees should be charged was a crucial symbolic expression of educational policy.

This manner of operating diverged from the educational attitudes of the promoters of the *universités populaires*. For them, the cultural and hence the political emancipation of the working classes necessitated a free educational co-operation between workers and their sympathizers among the intellectuals — that is to say, an *éducation mutuelle*. Not surprisingly then, the universités populaires, flourishing in Brussels and the French-speaking part of Belgium, were favoured by socialists and their affiliates among the intelligentsia as an alternative to patronizing, bourgeois educational practices, university extension included.

The Ghent project exhibited another significant feature of the wider phenomenon of university extension, namely its association with nationalist movements. The adoption of the English model was favoured by nationalists on the Continent, even though nationalism in itself was not explicitly a feature of university extension in England. In a number of European countries and regions, among them Bohemia, Catalonia and Flanders, the intellectuals who supported movements of linguistic and cultural minorities considered extension lectures to be a suitable strategy for asserting the scientific respectability of the vernacular language and for raising the national and culture awareness of the oppressed (Steele 1992; Vilanou 1984). A number of objectives merged in the activities of the Flemish nationalists: an attempt to gain recognition for Dutch; a gradual shift towards the political and economic potential of cultural emancipation ('cultuurflamingantisme'); a strategy to extend the reach of the Flemish movement beyond the educated professions to the lower-middle and the labouring classes, and so to establish a mass-base for Flemish aspirations.

Ultimately, to account for the spread of university extension, one would have to go beyond a historiographical concern with the purposes and aspirations of the historical actors involved, and consider the sociological effects of practices and processes and the way they fed back into the wider social system. In order to transcend a merely functionalist rationale of 'social

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control' or 'bourgeois hegemony', one would have to consider the complexities of these responses and effects, as well as their often unintended consequences (Steadman Jones 1983; van Krieken 1991; van Damme, 1991; Rowbotham 1981). Given the limitations of the sources used in this chapter, that would be a difficult and highly speculative exercise. Nevertheless, some tentative answers have been indicated.

The data on audiences and their responses suggest that the extension lectures were an ambiguous kind of transaction. Admiration for both the great historic past of Flanders and the wonders of scientific progress may have resulted in a cultural and ideological evolution among some of those who were already susceptible, and extension may therefore have helped swell the 'flamingant' ranks. But some courses, on medical topics, for example, may have encouraged existing trends towards more 'respectable' behaviour among the artisans and the labour aristocracy. Some of what was transferred in extension classes may have been 'useful knowledge', but only as defined by middle-class reformers. The generally positive attitude of the socialists towards the extension project and the fact that they were not able to develop a truly oppositional, alternative cultural and educational tradition may help substantiate the argument that extension and comparable practices did contribute to the cultural incorporation of the working class into bourgeois society.

Nevertheless, the extension movement remained largely middle-class in orientation and its effects were probably greatest at this social level. There are indications that it and other educational ventures of the kind may have functioned as a channel for the affiliation of the middle classes to the dominant culture. The aspirations of the educated professional classes—which in the case of the 'flamingant' intellectuals were very clear—may have reflected envy of the affluent upper classes, but they also stimulated a lively interest in the triumph of bourgeois culture. That this was not without political relevance is clear: the position of the middle classes was a decisive factor in the uncertain political evolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the aspiring intellectual middle classes may have contributed to the outcomes of this evolution.

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3

Adaptation of an Educational Innovation: the introduction of university extension into the Netherlands, 1890–1920

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During the second half of the nineteenth century a new form of adult education emerged in England, the 'University Extension' movement, which was engaged in civilizing and educating the lower and middle classes with the aid of higher education. About 1890 the first messages about this movement began to diffuse across Europe, including the Netherlands. These ideas found a receptive ground in many countries and were consolidated in diverse local practices of university extension (van Damme 1983; Marriott 1987; Steele 1991). Steele presents a wide-ranging account of the processes of transmission and reception during two periods of development in two different continents: in the years 1890–1910 in Europe, and 1945–55 in British colonial Africa. In this study, he distinguishes several conditions that facilitated the successful transmission, reception and transaction of university extension. As regards the positive reception of this new idea, Steele emphasizes the presence of a progressive liberal movement and the absence of a mature educational system.

To complete the picture, it is necessary to investigate how the introduction of innovation fares through time, to follow the processes of adaptation and possible consolidation. Adaptation of new ideas to the host society will be necessary before consolidation can successfully take place. The essential focus here is on the organizers: it is they who are trying to find acceptance for their concepts. Naturally, their ideas will be confronted by those of the

existing educational system and the state, and of their own grass-roots supporters, all of which will influence the process of adaptation. In the long run the success of a practice will depend on the number of participants it can attract; but in this case of university extension it is not to be expected that the students exerted much influence on the process of adaptation. The democratization of education had not extended so far during the period in question. I propose that this new form of adult education was provider- rather than consumer-led, as it appears to have been in other parts of Europe (see Steele 1991).

This chapter is an attempt to investigate whether the organizers of university extension in the Netherlands adapted this idea in order to fit their own society, and in which manner they might have done so. Hence it considers, on the one hand, the significance that was attached to these ideas and the shifts in their ideological meaning that may have occurred, and, on the other hand, the confrontations or negotiations between and within interested groups. Such processes are closely related and mutually interacting. The English idea is used as a point of reference. First, attention focuses on the reception of the English idea in the Netherlands, both in order to examine the conditions Steele suggests will be critical, and as a way of introduction. For practical reasons, the chapter confines itself to the major initiator in the Netherlands, the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Society for the Common Benefit—a body known familiarly in Dutch as the *Nut*). Several of its members acted as patrons of the university extension idea and seem to have played an important part in the process of its adaptation.

The Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen

The end of the nineteenth century was a successful period for the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, which had been first established as long ago as 1784. It was committed to the promotion of the general welfare of the lower classes, and as a product of the Enlightenment it sought to achieve this by passing on knowledge through establishment of popular libraries, promotion of popular education, distribution of improving literature, organization of lectures and courses, together with publication of reports on social questions (Hake 1987; van Gent 1982). In 1887, the society published a few

numbers of a radical-liberal periodical entitled *Sociaal Weekblad*, the 'Social Weekly' (de Vroom and Hake 1991).

The organization of the *Nut* was based on local departments, or branches. The principle of branch autonomy reigned supreme and the local units were largely independent of the central Board. Major decisions were taken in the annual General Meeting, where every department had a vote. This constitution made it almost impossible for the board to prescribe or direct in any coercive way (Mijnhardt and Wichers 1984). This awkward situation was compounded by political differences between the board and the departments. Broadly speaking, the Maatschappij could be described as liberal. In the period 1890–1920 the board was dominated by left-liberals, who advocated state intervention and co-operation with the social democrats; the general meeting was dominated by more conservative Liberals, who rejected ideas of that kind. This difference was responsible, for example, for the refusal of the general meeting to support the *Sociaal Weekblad*; which was considered much too progressive for the *Nut*. Nevertheless, good relationships were maintained with the left-liberal government of 1897–1901.

In the Netherlands, as in the rest of Europe, it was the progressive liberals who took up the idea of university extension. The *Nut* was a bourgeois voluntary association; most members were from the upper middle class and belonged to the 'notables' of Dutch society. Since 1870 it had adhered to an ethical intepretation of Christianity which avoided dogmatism on principle; therefore, both the religious and non-religious could become members. In this period, although the cities and particularly the smaller towns were well represented, the society can be characterized as 'relatively rural'. Rivalry frequently emerged between the 'rural' and 'urban' departments or branches.

Introduction of university extension

Despite the attention devoted to university extension in the *Sociaal Weekblad* during the period 1888 to 1892 (de Vroom and Hake 1991), it was not until 1893 that this idea gained currency within the *Nut*. At a meeting of 1893, Dr H. Oort described the features of university extension in a speech that was later published in the society's *Jaarboekje* (Yearbook). He referred to developments in England and took as his text Mackinder and Sadler's *University*

Extension: Past, present and future of 1891 (Oort 1893: 13). According to Oort the method was employed in England to supply a need for knowledge among men and women who were deprived because they were restricted to their home towns. Hence, the universities had to go out to these people. Also the advantage of this innovation was that the influence of university education could be more widely spread among adults, as many young people were not mature enough to take advantage of what was offered within the universities themselves.

The outline of British practice as provided by Oort was far from complete. Recent contributions to the subject (Marriott 1992; Steele 1991) have emphasized that university extension in England was an accepted university practice which elicited support from the progressive part of the university world. But at the same time only a few members of the internal staff were actively engaged in the organization and provision of lectures. Most of the work was actually done by graduates who were not formally members of the academic staff. The practice was mainly based on the idea of moral and inspirational education: education for reconciliation between the social classes and for responsible citizenship. Although the idea of enlightenment, delivering objective knowledge to the ignorant, was also present, the former motive was dominant. The ideal of university extension in England was a liberal, character-forming use of higher education.

Oort urged that 'Hooger Onderwijs buiten de Universiteiten', that is, 'higher education outside the universities', should be introduced in the Netherlands. It would fit very well within the tradition of popular education of the *Nut*, he argued, for 'its intention is to diffuse knowledge [...] among the best, the most talented of every class, and that will eventually benefit the whole of society' (1893: 3). In his speech Oort was especially enthusiastic about didactic innovations that came along with the extension approach, such as the use of a syllabus and discussion classes, which would help knowledge to take root more easily. On the other hand, 'The examination is not very attractive: there are already so many examinations' (1893: 5). The main point was that the need for knowledge should be recognized and that people should learn to consider question of truth in a critical way. Without supervision there was a danger of misinterpretation; university extension courses, however, would provide appropriate guidance. Oort understood these courses to be a form of general and not specialized education,

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resembling English liberal education, and teaching the student (in the words of a later English writer) 'to recognize, to respect, and to delight in what is intrinsically true, good and beautiful' (Sir Walter Moberly, quoted in Idenburg 1960: 419).

Aside from this ideal of general education, Oort envisaged more utilitarian possibilities, for example in vocational education. The courses could fill gaps in the training of administrators in health care or poor-relief. They might also have political significance by giving working-class people a political education. As Oort put it, 'sooner or later, the well educated may become the leaders; knowledge is power' (1893: 12). In his opinion, the obvious institution to sponsor the courses was the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen. Neither the form of organization, nor the role of the universities entered into the discussion.

Remarkable in Oort's speech is that he signalled the shortcomings of the educational system and the gaps that he wished to see filled. When educational arrangements in the Netherlands and England are compared, it is obvious that Dutch secondary education, based on the Law of 1863, was more varied. Furthermore, unlike the situation in England, both the Dutch working-class and middle-class people had access to higher education, even if in practice it was mostly middle-class men who enjoyed the benefit (Wachelder 1992). Here financial considerations must have been of some significance, but Oort did not consider them at all.

In the Netherlands initiatives by local authorities and private bodies had led to the development of vocational schools; these institutions were all at the secondary level until the Law on Higher Education of 1905 subsequently opened channels for the establishment of higher commercial, technical and agricultural schools (Idenburg 1960; Boekholt and de Booy 1987). In short, the systems in the two countries differed quite significantly, and the Dutch system was more broadly based. However, there seemed to be opportunities for the *Nut*, as a potential provider, in the area of vocational education. The question remained, of course, as to whether consumers were aware of the same need as the providers.

University extension in the work of the *Nut*, 1898–1906

After the publicity of 1893 nothing happened within the *Nut* for another four years, even though a number of people, including Oort himself, did organize courses on a personal basis (GAA, nr. 834: 13). The society justified its silence by pointing to the fact that it was involved in other extremely important concerns. Nevertheless, the case of university extension aroused interest in 1897, when a certain Dr Muller applied for a grant from the society to investigate this movement in England. His request was refused, for Oort's speech was considered to have supplied sufficient information for interested members. None the less, the board came back to the matter (GAA, nr. 42, 315, 320) and some six months later it made a proposal to the annual general meeting for the encouragement of university extension, and put aside Fl 1,000 for this purpose. The general meeting accepted this proposal, against the advice of its finance committee, which was afraid of frittering away energy and money on ventures that did not contribute to the 'common benefit'. Arguments put in favour during the discussion were that the proposal was consistent with the society's policy of stimulating popular education, and would benefit the education of the members themselves, since the lectures presently provided tended to be simply recreational in character. To perform the tasks it had now taken on, the board appointed an *ad hoc* committee, which included P. H. Hugenholtz, M. W. F. Treub and D. W. Stork (Bruinwold Riedel 1899), all three of whom were left-liberals.

For 1898/99 this committee organized a provisional programme of courses. It distributed a circular, drawing the attention of departments to the possibility of arranging courses, and it offered suggestions for further development. In accordance with the liberal attitude of the *Nut* to the autonomy of local departments, organization from the centre was minimal. Over content, however, the committee did wish to exert some influence, and in the face of critical comments from the board it attached conditions regarding subject matter and course leadership to the grants it offered (GAA, nr. 43: 17). Even so, three departments out of seven arranged courses with financial help from the committee.

In the meantime, the government in the form of the Minister of Internal Affairs had shown some interest in university extension. He had sent Dr Muller to England to investigate the university extension movement,

published in the *Staatscourant* his very positive report on developments in that country, and offered to give financial aid to societies that supported university extension. At first the committee of the *Nut* seemed eager to secure some of this assistance. It requested those members of the central board who also sat in Parliament to raise its case informally with the minister. However, the members did not take any action, and the committee itself did not exert any pressure. Since the society spent only Fl 400 on grants for university extension, it may not be very surprising that the business of grant-aid was postponed (GAA, nr. 43: 13, 87).

In fact, the committee was following another line. It had realized that it was essential that more departments should become and remain interested in the cause, particularly because of the significance of the majority vote in the general meeting. The appropriate tack seemed to be more propaganda and a more streamlined organization. Hence, it was considered to be necessary to establish relations with professors who were prepared to conduct such courses. As far as publicity went, in 1899 the *Nut* issued a report on the first year of university extension, *Wetenschappelijke Leergangen voor Volwassenen*, on its 'courses of scientific teaching for adults'. (In the Dutch language, as in French and German, the idea of *science* poses a notorious difficulty of translation. In this chapter the term 'scientific' is used in its inclusive, Continental sense, where English would more naturally, but less helpfully, resort to terms such as 'academic' or 'scholarly'.)

This publication contained an introduction, together with an outline of developments in other countries and an epilogue by the secretary of the Maatschappij, J. Bruinwold Riedel; and also an outline of Dutch developments, and reports and syllabuses of the courses held in session 1898/99. The report proved to be very popular. Within the first year, sixty-four copies were sold, which was very unusual for such a report from the *Nut*, when the number usually did not exceed twenty (*Jaarboekje* 1902). Moreover, the committee provided the departments with a circular including an outline of the procedure to be followed and a list of subjects and course leaders. More than fifty teachers and professors were invited, nineteen accepted the challenge and became course leaders. 'History of Socialism', offered by a socialist lecturer, was deleted from the list on the grounds that its inclusion could lead to 'making propaganda for socialism, and that is not in the spirit of the Society' (GAA, nr. 43: 63–64). These activities resulted in a grant of

financial support by the general meeting for a second year's work. In this session, eleven departments, both urban and rural, organized courses. (The number given officially was eight, but further investigation has shown that this figure was not correct.)

Then in 1900, the proposal of the board to award grants for university extension was rejected. The general meeting considered the results very poor in proportion to the effort expended by the *Nut*, and accordingly dismissed university extension as not being a viable proposition. Also, the meeting accepted that the society was involved in too many fields and so decided to restrict spending to what were clearly practical and beneficial uses. None the less, five departments continued to arrange courses. And that was what the board had hoped for: 'The Board trusts that the departments that have successfully organized courses will continue to do so', it commented in the report for 1900/01 (*Jaarboekje* 1901: 42).

The supporters of university extension did not give up; in the following year the board aided two further proposals by departments to stimulate the work. Much to its regret, both were turned down by the general meeting, and the chief reason for rejection on this occasion was that the courses would not serve the 'common benefit'. In the debate it was argued that the committee was aiming too high, that people were not ready for this kind of provision. More significantly, the rivalry between the rural and the urban departments surfaced again: rural departments complained that the meeting was showing bias in favour of urban branches in its support of university extension courses (*Jaarboekje* 1902: 57). In a final effort to keep an awareness of university extension alive, the board published reports of courses held both at home and in other countries. This form of publicity stopped after 1904.

Significance

In my opinion, it is possible to reconstruct the process of adaptation of the idea of university extension to Dutch society by focussing on negotiations between interested people or groups and the related shifts in the significance or ideological meaning of 'university extension'. The texts of the *Nut* are quite useful in revealing these shifts. What becomes clear is that the society did not introduce the idea without reason, and that several variant interpretations existed. In the previous section we saw that the *Nut* considered

university extension to be its own internal affair; closer study of the later records reveals that the society had good grounds for taking this view. It regarded university extension as the most advanced form of popular education, the culmination of a process which started with primary education, followed by libraries for juveniles, popular libraries, 'Toynbee' (that is, settlement) work, and ending with popular lectures. As the major institution for popular education in the Netherlands, it believed it had to supervise this highest stage of provision and not allow it to pass over to the universities. In addition, it argued that the universities would hesitate to undertake the task, and that there would be unnecessary delay as a result. Furthermore, if the universities took charge, only professors, lecturers and assistants would be appointed as course leaders. This was not thought advisable, since others, such as ministers, medical doctors, journalists and teachers, were also considered suitable to serve as course leaders (Bruinwold Riedel 1899: 38, 142–143).

In addition to this general idea, we can distinguish two variants of university extension, or scientific courses for adults. The ideal of enlightenment formed the basis for the first variant which emerged in documents and publications of 1898 and 1899 (GAA, nr. 834; Bruinwold Riedel 1899). University extension was intended in the first place to meet a need for systematic knowledge leading to the establishment of truth. In the second place, it was intended to develop the middle class: men in charge of small businesses, office employees, teachers, civil servants. University extension could benefit, moreover, the members of the *Nut* and their children. It was this middle class, which 'is more or less neglected compared to all that is done for the lower classes' (GAA, nr. 843: 14). The courses were neither intended, nor suited for working-class people. Hence, the society preferred the term 'Hooger Onderwijs buiten de Universiteiten' to Hooger Volksonderwijs. The former term, in which the formula 'higher instruction' carried no reference to the 'people', expressed the élitist character of the provision more clearly. What is more, the term 'Volksonderwijs' had originally been used for simple lectures (Hake 1987); it might therefore serve only to confuse potential students.

The second variant came from Bruinwold Riedel and was also expressed in the report of 1899. It is largely an extension of Oort's ideas although it is far more explicit. Bruinwold Riedel also considered the academic courses

mainly as a didactic innovation, as a reaction against the unsatisfactory results of the established method of lecturing. Regarding university extension as an improvement on the lecture approach—an approach that formed an important part of *Nut* activities—Bruinwold Riedel emphasized that it was entirely a matter for the society. Unlike Oort, the general secretary wanted popularization 'to give serious explanations of basic notions from different branches of knowledge in a popular way' (1899: 131). In line with Oort, however, Bruinwold Riedel understood enlightenment as the main purpose. People had to be aroused and prepared to undertake their own enquiries; none the less, they had to be supervised by an experienced man of learning. They did not have to be schooled in the practice of independent enquiry—the secretary saw that as typically English and as intimately connected with English university education—nor did they have to be schooled in some kind of profession. It was possible to provide vocational training as something additional. University extension was meant for the more educated people: 'The distance between the intellectual development of men of science and of the lower classes [...] is too large to bridge in one noble, gigantic attempt. And yet, a wave of light has to be extended from the universities to those men who are closer to the masses.' (Bruinwold Riedel 1899: 134) In addition to such men, women and young adults who had just left school were also intended to benefit. Initially, the working class seems to have been excluded.

Nevertheless, university extension had an important social significance for Bruinwold Riedel. According to him, at the heart of the social movement was a question of civilization. The lower classes wanted to share in the knowledge and culture of the more developed classes. The more the gap opened between them, the more these groups would became alienated from each other and the more the struggle between them would become violent. It was necessary, therefore, that something 'should not be done for them, but with them' (1899: 139). This required the man of learning to leave his ivory tower. The personal contact between course leaders and participants, but also among the participants from different social classes—and here he referred to Toynbee work—ought to create a social consciousness from which improved class relationships and an awareness of solidarity could flow. University extension appeared to be a realistic panacea for social questions of the time. Bruinwold Riedel wrote: 'In these "scientific courses for adults"

we can find the material from which different threads will be spun so that several circles in society will interweave with each other, and from which a cloak of social consciousness will develop.' (1899: 141) It was especially the social significance of university extension, with this civilizing dimension, that was new for the Dutch situation. What is more, in this new dispensation the working class, as Oort had also proposed, would be permitted to attend university extension courses.

These two variants followed each other chronologically, and continued to exist alongside each other. Both meanings exhibit elements of adaptation when compared with English practice. The common point of adaptation had to do with the general meaning of university extension: in both interpretations it was to be an affair of the *Nut*, whereas in England provision was supervised by the universities. Therefore the ideal of 'enlightenment', high among the aims of the *Nut*, was stressed much more than in England. The particular adaptation involved in the first of these policies concerned the target group: English university extension aimed at both middle-class and working-class people and intended a broad appeal. The Dutch version was much more élitist. With the second policy, the social significance of university extension (an ideological meaning already familiar in England) was introduced into Dutch discourse. It might be concluded, therefore, that this second approach carried more English elements than the first, and yet it seemed to be very remote from the original English concept and practice.

Thus far, nothing has been uncovered about overt conflicts between the supporters of the two interpretations of university extension. Nevertheless, the main argument within the *Nut* against making funds available for this kind of work was the accusation that it would not reach the working class. It appears therefore that the second variant, the one proposed by Bruinwold Riedel with its emphasis on social significance, was preferred to the first one, in which the practice was considered as an élitist, middle-class affair.

A new image

In the spring of 1906, the Board presented a modernized form of university extension, and the General Meeting accepted its proposal to form the 'Nieuwenhuyzen Fund for Education'. Through this fund, the society proposed to finance the promotion of *Lager Volksonderwijs* (elementary

popular education), *Vakonderwijs* (vocational training) and *Hooger Volksonderwijs* (higher popular education). In addition it appointed a Committee for Education with sub-committees for each area. Under the new name of 'hooger volksonderwijs', the board succeeded in bringing in university extension for the second time. In the deliberations of the general meeting, its marginal status proved to be an advantage; 'lager volksonderwijs' was discussed at length, whereas no attention was paid to the third category. The other side of the coin was that elementary education was given the highest priority and received the bulk of the financial resources. With regard to university extension, the difference between the board and the general meeting persisted, and the indifference of the latter were significant.

The board saw the Law on Higher Education of 1905 as an opportunity to reactivate university extension. It allowed universities to provide courses of 'outside' lectures that could be announced in the *series lectionum* (academic list of lectures). The board expected that universities and their professors would give more assistance to higher popular education than had previously been the case. Under this new name, 'Hooger Volksonderwijs', there appears initially a variant of university extension resembling that of Oort and Bruinwold Riedel (GAA, nr. 863: 18–19). Again there emerges the idea that education should benefit the more talented among the participants, and that the courses should meet a need for development and knowledge. At the same time emphasis was put on the intellectual and spiritual encouragement of future leaders, and on spreading an influence that would benefit the development and work of trade unions. A political interpretation based on good citizenship dominated in this approach.

In contrast, the sub-committee on higher popular education, comprising the Groningen professor of theology A. G. van Hamel, M. Tydeman and Th. Nolen, considered the main point to be general academic education. At first it thought of combining theory and practice, of bringing 'into contact the humanities with the realities of practical life' (GAA, nr. 861), and so of engaging in the theory–practice debate. Then the sub-committee reconsidered, rejecting these revolutionary ideas and deciding only to engage in 'propaganda for the introduction and appreciation of methods of academic research to a broader public' (GAA, nr. 861). The task of the sub-committee was to bring forward proposals in three areas: first, the organization of courses on specialist methods within scholarly research; secondly, catering

for non-academic auditors in courses dealing with important social and philosophical questions; and thirdly, the encouragement and support of technical and vocational education such as an agricultural university and higher commercial schools (*Mededeelingen* 1906, 2: 58). Finally, the sub-committee was concerned to seek contact and maintain relations with universities, professors, and other societies and interested persons in order to create a kind of forum for higher popular education.

Van Hamel, like Oort, had an ideal of general scientific education. He did not want to popularize science; he wanted to teach people to appreciate and respect it as the only way to arrive at the truth. He wanted to save people from the power of superstition and to counterbalance mere acceptance of authority. Under the guidance of a course leader, students had to progress towards independent study (*Mededeelingen* 1906, 5: 27–28). This variant also had its basis in the ideal of enlightenment. Remarkable, however, was the aversion to popularization as such. Van Hamel attached great value to the academic standard of the courses, while vocational education, one of the tasks of the committee, did not interest him. The political significance of university extension, as it was formulated in the Proposal of 1906, had disappeared; the education of the political leaders of the future was not mentioned explicitly. General scientific education received the highest priority.

The appointment of van Hamel was not entirely without risk for the board, for many members of the *Nut* were clergymen. As a pioneering theologian, van Hamel took a positivist point of view of his discipline; as an ethical modernist he paid tribute to the view that scholarly evidence was to be more highly valued in religious affairs than was revelation and tradition. Positivist ideas had produced a significant upheaval within theology, the so-called modernism debate (Roessingh 1922; Lenders 1992), and the society did not want to stir up a hornets' nest. Regarding the society's own provision, the board demanded that religion should be left well alone (GAA, nr. 841: 21). Following the sudden death of van Hamel in 1907, Professor P. J. Blok was appointed to the sub-committee and he followed in van Hamel's footsteps; there was no change of policy.

Activities of the Sub-Committee 1906–14

For the session 1908/09, the sub-committee distributed a circular, this time with a list of twenty-nine course leaders and seventy-two subjects. There was to be less administrative freedom than in the earlier period of 1898–1906. There were laid-down procedures for appointment of course leader, selection of study material and didactic structure, and for financial matters such as subscriptions, grants and fees (*Mededeelingen* 1908, 1: 24–26). However, the autonomy of the departments was maintained, and the role of the sub-committee was only to stimulate and provide support. During the next few years higher popular education turned out to be rather successful. The sub-committee compiled lists and tried to remedy deficiencies by introducing uniform methods and fees (*Jaarverslag* 1910: 55–71). As a forum for higher popular eduction it had little meaning; the universities kept aloof and it had little contact with educational societies or teachers. But it did not consider this as very problematic, commenting in 1910, 'Perhaps it is better to wait until more courses are organized, and the results have become more favourable.' (*Jaarverslag* 1910: 69–70).

Even so, there were certain problems that required the sub-committee to be in contact with the universities. These stemmed from the significance attached to 'Hooger Volksonderwijs', and the concern for academic standards, when some of the courses were tending to degenerate into mere lectures or series of lectures. In 1912, the sub-committee decided to make an approach to the universities; it sent an extensive memorandum on its experiences with higher popular education, and made an elaborate proposal for an 'Interuniversitaire Vereeniging voor Hooger Onderwijs buiten de Universiteiten' (inter-university society for higher education outside the universities). The proposed organization and method corresponded to those previsously used by the sub-committee, the only difference being that a certain level of prior education would be required of students. The answer of the council of rectors was negative: it did not consider itself the most obvious body to arrange courses, the *Nut* itself being more appropriate for such a task (*Jaarverslag* 1913: 37–41). The sub-committee noted that there had been a misunderstanding — it had proposed only co-operation, whereas the rectors had assumed the universities were being asked to take over responsibility for courses — but no further action was taken.

Initially, the sub-committee decided to support the courses by its own efforts. Then, on further consideration, it opted to transform this private venture into a more collective one. In the spring of 1914, it launched a new plan, based on setting up a committee of professors from the different faculties in each university town. The sub-committee would organize the courses and the professors would be the course leaders; the teaching would be accommodated in the vicinity of the universities. The existing list of course-leaders, of whom only one-third received engagements each session, was to be abandoned. Twenty professors would be invited to a meeting to consider the new approach, and increased funds would be set aside in the society's budget. There is no information on whether the plan being put into effect, and it is probable that the outbreak of the First World War pushed these latest idea on to the sidelines.

In the winter of 1913/14, the number of departments organizing courses diminished dramatically; they had numbered ten the year before and were now five. This trend continued in the following session. The sub-committee blamed the unfavourable times for the decline not only of higher popular education, but also of elementary and vocational education. Behind this explanation, the sub-committee seems to have stopped believing in its own mission. A request from the board to promote such courses as far as possible fell upon deaf ears. The sub-committee left the initiative to the departments, which remained active until 1919.

What we see happening in this period is that the significance attached to 'Hooger Volksonderwijs' pushed provision inevitably in the direction of the universities. The courses were intended to operate at a serious academic standard; participants were expected to have attained a certain prior level of educational attainment, and were expected to continue their own independent studies after completion of the courses. Unfortunately, the universities themselves continued to insist that university extension was not their responsibility. In the longer term, this attitude contributed to the transient character of the practice. 'Higher popular education' ceased to be an independent form in the Netherlands in 1919, but that did not mean that it disappeared altogether. It, and therefore indirectly university extension, had stimulated the formation of several new forms of adult education, such as the *Nutsseminarium voor Pedagogiek*, the Society's pedagogical seminary in Amsterdam, and the *Volksuniversiteiten*, or folk universities.

Conclusion

In the two periods discussed, two contrasting developments regarding the process of adaptation can be distinguished. In the first period from 1898 to 1906, the idea of university extension was adjusted to the host organization, that is the Society for the Common Benefit. A new interpretation emerged here, as university extension became part of the repertoire of an organization with a long-established involvement in popular education. Two ideological strands emerged within the *Nut* itself: a Dutch, élitist, and an English, social, significance. Neither served to bring the grass-roots supporters of the society to accept university extension; the former approach was considered too élitist, the latter premature. In the following period, from 1906 to 1914, a contrary development emerges: attempts were made to adapt practical organization to the ideas themselves. The relative lack of importance of university extension work within the overall programme of the *Nut*, and its consequent marginality, meant that attitudes at the grass-roots were no longer a hindrance. The scientific, élitist character of the courses was emphasized, and attempts to co-operate with the universities became inevitable.

This chapter has proposed that dominant ideological meanings within those organization involved in the process will have a key influence on the way imported practices are adapted to a new situation. These effects appear to be demonstrated in the history of the relationship of the Society for the Common Benefit to the ideas and practices of university extension. With regard to the universities, similar findings may be expected, but the necessary historical investigation remains to be done. The same analysis should be applicable to government activity. Since the Dutch authorities appear to have considered university extension favourably, there should be further scope for the study of the supposed marginality of this set of educational practices.

On the other hand, the research on which this chapter is based has detected little evidence of any influence from the educational consumers on the process of adaptation. This tends to confirm the view that university extension in the Netherlands, as in the rest of Europe, was predominantly provider-led.

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4

A Science of Democracy: an outline of the development of university extension in Europe, 1890–1920

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This chapter is an abbreviated version of the author's report on one segment of a research project in 'Intercultural Adult Education' undertaken at the University of Leeds, 1990–92, which was concerned to chart the spread of 'university extension' across the countries of Continental Europe in the thirty or so years after 1890. One of its aims was to stimulate discussion of the extent to which intercultural influence and imitation may have played a significant part in the process.[1] This shortened account does not refer to all the available material. Notably it omits developments in the German-speaking countries, which were the subject of earlier research in 1989–91 and are being published or reported separately. Since the history of the French *universités populaires* is considered in another chapter of the present volume, it is simply touched on here to allow some understanding of developments in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands.

Introduction

The account can be split, if it is hoped without too much violence, into the geographical divisions of north, east and southern Europe. This is because the earlier developments in extension, which seem more closely to have followed the English model, occurred in the northern countries of Belgium and Scandinavia (although Denmark is a specific exception), while its development in the south, especially in Italy and Spain, occurred later and was coloured by the formation of the French *universités populaires* in the late 1890s. Holland, although a northern country, resisted the extension movement but welcomed the popular university movement and appears to have

ended up with a convergence of both. As can be seen, the picture of the development of extension across Europe is interrupted and complicated by the relatively sudden emergence of the French popular university. I think there are grounds for seeing this development as an important break with extension in some respects, especially in that the popular university movement was, generally speaking, consumer- rather than provider-led and controlled, was more openly political in its aims, but less well organized and academically respectable. It may have stimulated the move towards independent working-class education in England and the formation of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in 1903.

But, even as a case seems to gather ground for this contention, the counter-argument is that many examples of extension in Europe also seem to have originated in the demands of workers' movements for higher education. The pattern in central and eastern Europe is often of this kind, especially in the ailing Habsburg and Czarist empires, where workers' movements were also involved in national liberation. No clear picture of modelling the English original emerges and each country, though roughly grouped, displays particular characteristics. The narrative will try to follow developments in each of the three geographical divisions, north, east and south, despite their inadequacies, and then conclude with some general thematic observations on what appear to be some constitutive elements of the overall picture of extension's development.[2]

Northern Europe: Belgium and Scandinavia

Belgium

The Belgian movement was regarded by the leaders of extension in England as being the most closely modelled on its original. The origins of extension-type activities in Belgium seem to be closely woven into the eruption of radical political movements associated both with the aspirations of Flemish nationalism and with workers' movements for socialism.

Emile Waxweiler, a Belgian engineer who was involved in extension work, wrote in 1893 that 'The political and social crisis which the little kingdom is now traversing and the sudden arising of an important labor movement under the leadership of the Socialists, have called the attention of the public

to all kinds of social enterprises.'[3] He continued that the necessity of preparing the way for the progressive emancipation of working people was felt increasingly by the higher and wealthier classes. Both the Liberals, defending as might be expected civil, religious and economic liberties, and the Catholics were responding to the requests of organized labour for education and reform. Waxweiler held that the new movement was especially advanced in the city of Ghent because of the superior organization and development of the socialist party, which had already set up various co-operative associations. This is no doubt a highly partisan view (and one contested by Dirk van Damme's contribution to this book), but it does suggest the extent to which adult education was contextualized within broader political movements.

Education in Belgium was moreover a special site of political contest because the Liberal government of the early 1880s had taken the radical step of placing schools under state control and excluding religious instruction, which when the Catholics returned to power in 1884 they noisily and conservatively reversed. Further, the movement for Flemish nationalism had a strong educational element which appears to have seized on extension as its vehicle. Extension first appeared, as Waxweiler notes, in the University of Ghent as the inspiration of a number of radical lecturers and students. The earliest of these was Paul Frédericq who had studied extension in England as early as 1884. Although he had begun to proselytize for it on his return, the first courses were not undertaken until 1892, when it was taken up again by academics, Tack and de Raet. Extension in Flanders, then, was closely identified with the nationalist movement and owed its inception to a group of intellectuals with direct understanding of the English model.

Brussels followed Ghent a few years later as a result of Professor Léon Leclère who also proselytized for extension as a result of his study in England. Leclère published an influential pamphlet on English extension in 1892 which argued that it was essential to the new spirit of democracy in Belgium since without it the workers might turn to more violent means. Extension in Brussels was highly charged and, as a result of a split in the movement, for a time two separate organizations based on the Free University ran in parallel. The Socialist Party also offered its own 'university extension' for a while.[4] The split in the movement came when the university authorities refused to allow the leading French geographer Élisée Reclus to give a series of lectures. Reclus

was a celebrated figure whose development of the political aspects of geography, particularly in their relationship to colonialism, had won him international recognition. However, because he was an anarchist and ex-Communard, the authorities were fearful of his exciting the passions of the students, and tried to keep him under wraps. But Reclus was also a Freemason and through his Masonic friends was able to acquire a hall to lecture in, and then with others founded the 'New University' which organized its own version of extension. The association of Freemasonry with radicalism should not seem surprising at this time because of their combined opposition to the power of Roman Catholicism; and only later did Freemasonry become associated with more conservative currents. In France it played a special role also in the development of the ideology of 'Solidarism' which was associated with the popular universities.[5]

The views of the socialist leaders, Destrée and Vandervelde, that extension was teaching 'pure science, disengaged from politics and economics',[6] and therefore in the interests of the working class, shows how strong was the belief in the progressive role of 'objective knowledge'. Despite its radical origins, Leclère later noted, extension in Belgium became increasingly populated by the middle class and women schoolteachers, a pattern that appears to be repeated elsewhere in Europe. University extension in Belgium, then, was simultaneously an inheritor of the objective-knowledge tradition, an expression of nationalist and socialist movements and a reflection of the English model devised by sympathetic university radicals. It then became a respectable site for middle-class cultural work and teachers' professional needs of special appeal to women.

Scandinavia

In Sweden extension appears to have owed its origins much less to radical social movements and much more to the activities of academics such as Harald Hjärne, who, like Frédericq and Leclère, had studied extension on its home ground. Hjärne also wrote a widely influential tract on English extension which convinced the university authorities at Uppsala and then Lund, Göteborg and Stockholm sufficiently for them to provide summer schools on the English model. Significantly these were attended largely by schoolteachers who were, it seems, Hjärne's intended constituency. There were already two adult educational movements in Sweden, folk high schools

on the Danish model in the countryside, and workers' institutes, based on Anton Nyström's Stockholm original, in the towns. From as early as 1883 these had received state funding, and had attained a high degree of regional and voluntary organization. Although they had originally been intended for workers, they too increasingly became dominated by the middle class.[7] The attempt to introduce extension in the 1890s could be seen as a way of reinvigorating the old system of lectures, which by now had lost its early vitality, through the direct involvement of universities.

The subject matter of the summer schools was largely scientific in nature. In this the organizers appeared to follow the ideology of popular science as a means of clear thinking and problem-solving which animated so many of the European intellectuals involved in extension. In his concluding speech to the 1895 summer school, for example, Professor Lundell asserted bluntly that the lines on which the work should proceed 'shall be scientific, directed towards the truth; it substance shall be up-to-date knowledge, consequently its imparters shall be exclusively such as are abreast of the times in their several subjects; its methods shall be critical, not dogmatic.'[8]

The summer schools, he said, were intended to arouse the latent powers of inner consciousness, to widen the mental horizon and strengthen intellectual vision. He pointed out, in as kindly a way as possible, the narrow limits of previous knowledge. In fact he was taking his lead from Anton Nyström's practice and theory published in his book 'The Participation of the Workers in Contemporary Civilization' which urged that 'the people should receive a systematic education by attending courses in all the sciences'.[9] But the difference here was that Lundell's audience now consisted almost entirely of teachers, and he made it plain that teachers in elementary schools must not expect to acquire material from the summer school lectures which they could straightaway impart to their own pupils.

In Norway there was a similar interest in English extension. Norwegian academics had also attended British summer schools and were enthusiastic about their potential for class *rapprochement*. A Dr Mourley Vold recorded his impressions of attendance of the Oxford summer meeting of 1892 which, despite making some quaint observations on the nature of the English character, including food, draughts under doors, and the role of the small nation in global affairs, noted that the main value of university extension was the elevating effect it had on the working classes. He believed

it caused them to work together with their fellow citizens for ideal aims so that they felt themselves 'one part of a great culture-society'; he was tempted to compare it to an old Greek festival.[9]

Denmark

In Denmark extension also appears to have been an urban movement, developing later than in Sweden, probably because of the widespread influence of the folk high schools. Unlike Sweden's, it was predominantly a worker-inspired movement which stemmed from eight Copenhagen workers' associations uniting and applying to the university of Copenhagen for extension courses. According to Henni Forchhammer, a member of the extension committee, they had come together because of 'a longing for closer contact with scientific methods' and a desire for enlightenment.[11]

What is of interest here is that although the movement from below might have been inspired by the popular university movement in France no such implication is contained in its title, and it seems more orientated towards systematic courses on the English model, with a notable absence of the radical rhetoric of the French model. The university responded positively and while funding was initially from voluntary sources it rapidly received state aid. In the first year nearly a third of the audience was male workers and only eight per cent were women teachers.

As we have noted, Denmark was a special case in adult education because of its folk high schools, which had a radical modernizing effect on the country as a whole. English extension initially seemed quaint and rather medieval to some who had experienced it. The *University Extension Journal* contained a wry commentary on the Cambridge summer school from a Dane who had attended it. This was by Gerson Trier, a teacher from Copenhagen, who appreciated and enjoyed the event but found that it appeared to fall short on the two key categories of 'modernity' and 'internationalism'.[12] In fact he clearly found it both English and medieval. He was initially surprised that the English lecturers wore gowns, unlike on the continent where lecturers are dressed 'like any other mortal', and he could not help thinking of Goethe's *Faust*. Though he found the lectures 'were instinct with the spirit of modern times', three things exercised him. The first was the lecturers' insistence generally that modern culture rested entirely on the work of the classical period — an idea which had been all but abandoned

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on the Continent. Unlike the English, he said, Europeans recognized a break in the culture of modernity, in that it was based on science and fostered a concern for brotherhood, whereas the Greeks and Romans held all foreigners to be barbarians, and regarded slavery as a necessary and natural institution. Trier was surprised therefore, about the 'renaissance' standpoint adopted in the General Course, 'the more so as University Extension must needs be a democratic movement and modern in every fibre'.

His second concern was the amount of time devoted to the subject of Education, which was because most of the members of the summer school were teachers, when he had expected to meet all sorts and conditions of person, especially workers. Thirdly, he noted with evident relief the importance of the lectures on Evolution, which were a marked peculiarity of the meeting. He found this 'entirely modern' and imbued with the spirit of Charles Darwin. Here England appeared in advance of the Continent in that what was emphasized was not merely the partial explanatory capability of the theory but its totality as an idea. Trier's account provides a valuable insight into how a progressive Danish student of extension perceived the English original; his reactions may have been typical.

Central and Eastern Europe

If extension in Northern Europe could be seen to be associated with the relatively steady march of social democracy, although driven by the winds of nationalism and modernity, in the crumbling empires to the east it was even more closely tied to the construction of national identity.

In Bohemia popular education was already constituted as a vehicle for national renaissance from the mid-century, with figures such as Havlicek and Palacky promoting cultural associations designed to educate the people to their national heritage as against Habsburg centralism.[15] Palacky had stimulated the foundation of associations to publish and distribute didactic histories and encyclopaedias. Libraries were founded and movements for scientific knowledge formed, and by the 1880s Prague had an association for popular education which organized systematic public lectures. There were also an association of Czech writers and artists, and a workers' academy formed to hold public lecture courses. This was the ground upon which the new shoots of extension were layered.

In much the same way as in Denmark, the actual demand for extension came from workers' associations in Prague which, in 1897, petitioned the philosophy department of the Czech University. The department responded positively by sending a resolution to the education ministry. The minister approved and a state subvention was quickly granted, although subject to extensive formal requirements made through a ministerial decree.

The regulations emphasized that lecture courses should be offered to those classes who had not hitherto had access to academic studies and permitted courses to be held in Prague, its suburbs and the rest of Bohemia. However they expressly excluded courses touching on contemporary religious, political and social conflicts. The courses were to be organized by a special commission of representatives from all faculties of the university, consisting of eleven members.[14] Course content was strongly orientated towards objective knowledge, as might be expected, and national history, but gradually it broadened to include amongst other things psychology, French poetry and even semiotics.

As this development indicates, there are some reasons for believing that Czech university extension was peculiarly responsive to contemporary intellectual currents. One reason for this may have been the specific role played by T. G. Masaryk, professor of philosophy and first president of the Czechoslovak republic. Described as a 'philosopher-king', he refused even while president of the republic to give up his chair of philosophy.[15] He was also one of the European founders of social science as an academic discipline, and when he arrived at the university in 1882 he gave what were the first courses in sociology in any university, European or American.[16] Masaryk challenged the hegemony of German intellectual life over the Czechs by introducing new academic discourses drawn largely from Anglo-Saxon and French, particularly Comtean, sociology. In a sense this was the French wedge of 'scientific' positivism driven into the metaphysical side of German idealism—although it was not without tragic preoccupations, and like Durkheim he produced a study of suicide.[17] Comte was also very popular with the Solidarists of the French *université populaire* movement, its founder, Georges Deherme later declaring himself a Comtean. The belief in the application of science to society was becoming central to the education of adults, especially working-class adults. (It is also tempting to speculate on the possibility that Masonic links may have brought extension to Bohemia.)

One of the contributors to the 1900 Paris conference on higher education was the Czech, Franz Drtina, whose very interesting commentary on the extension movement rhetorically naturalized it within what he called 'the tradition of the national cultural revival' in a quite remarkable way.[18] Here 'extension' is a sign for cultural renewal and vitality within a modernizing moment that is now both nationalist and, perhaps more importantly, 'European'. He asks that the Czech people tread new cultural paths but stay in step with the broader cultural development of Europe. He believes that knowledge and life should be brought together as a contribution to both the moral development and humanizing of mankind, and also a contribution to bringing separate nations into a greater community. He invokes two of the country's philosophers who had achieved international recognition, Comenius and Leibnitz, to indicate both the national and the universal ideals involved. The ideal community is not only geographically horizontal but also socially vertical, in that it must include the working classes; he notes the importance of the demand for extension from the workers' associations.

Scientific knowledge, Drtina insists, cannot simply remain the monopoly of the upper classes but must first, through the 'strength of education', be internalized by 'the individual' before the lot of the vast majority of mankind can be improved. He concluded that the Bohemian university's efforts were true to the slogan of 'Through enlightenment to freedom'. These comments impress as a remarkably developed rhetoric on behalf of university extension within the modernizing discourse of the enlightenment, and they indicate a clear visionary shift beyond nationalist constraints. (It is also not without interest to wonder, since Masaryk married an American, and the Czech and Slovak nationalist movement originated in Philadelphia, whether the American extension system might in this instance have had a greater influence than the English.)

In Hungary a similar ground swell of popular education in the mid nineteenth century had created institutions for popularizing science and history. This appears to have been largely inspired by aristocratic and paternalist benevolence but by the 1870s some associations were receiving state subventions. In 1893 the 'Free Lyceum' was founded in Budapest to provide more systematic university-type courses and in 1897 the minister for education, Dr Julius Wlassics, proposed that the universities themselves should directly provide extension for the country at large and in particular

for the working class. It appears that universities greeted this positively and may even have indirectly inspired the initiative but it is not clear whether proposals had come from workers' movements, as in Bohemia, or whether radical academics had spearheaded the movement voluntarily.

For Wlassics university extension was a very important element of his overall programme of attaining national cultural unity through a unified education system.[19] Like Baron Eotvos , the first Hungarian minister for education and the arts, before him, Wlassics saw the significance of popular education as a vehicle for, if not a means of actually constructing, national identity. In particular Magyardom was perceived as under siege from both the Slavs to the north and the Romanians in Transylvania. According to Deri it was the threat to national identity that had stimulated the founding of active and well-endowed cultural associations. The Free Lyceum was itself the inspiration of the former president of Hungary, Alexander Wekerles.

Extension in Hungary therefore was fairly highly politicized from the outset, enjoying a high level of state support and direction which gathered voluntary-sector agencies into the system. It appears to have responded to perceived political threats both from without and within the polity, though perhaps the extreme fluidity and sensitivity of its boundaries encouraged this. In the context of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Hungarian nationalism was still a relatively labile and disputed entity.

Poland and Russia

Under Russian czardom, where severe political censorship reigned, the conditions for developing a Polish version of extension were not the most desirable; in fact the term 'extension' does not figure in contemporary accounts. The exceptions were in fact in Galicia (Austrian Poland), where there were two Polish universities, but where the movement for popular education had been initiated privately. One of these private associations, the *Société de l'école primaire*, introduced the first programme of popular education in Cracow in 1894. Various branches of science were taught in courses lasting six to eight weeks, including physics, chemistry, biology and also history and literature; but the frequency of courses gradually diminished. Popular education was revived by members of the Workers' Party when in 1898, the centenary of the patriotic poet Mickiewicz, a society for the special extension of science to the working class was formed, the *Société*

de l'université populaire du nom Mickiewicz, at Cracow and Leopol.

Though founded by the workers' political party, it was not in a narrowly partisan spirit, and included university lecturers on its administrative council. Eric Hobsbawm notes that despite the various parties dedicated to Polish independence it was in fact the Polish Socialist Party which achieved it.[20] (So little was the enthusiasm of the Polish bourgeoisie for nationalism that Rosa Luxembourg thought that there was no basis for it in that class.) Here then was a form of 'university extension' which did not apparently call itself such and was politically based in the workers' movement. In the absence of a bourgeois nationalist movement, the socialist movement itself realized that function and, unable to choose the sign of 'extension', took the title of 'popular university' under the patriotic name of Mickiewicz to indicate its intentions.

In Russia the position was even worse and no clearer example exists of the perception of university extension as a threat to the old regime. Fear of educational subversion was so intense that universities were not permitted to offer anything under that title. Professor Vinogradoff, formerly professor of history at Moscow University, noted in the *University Extension Journal* of 1902 that academics had created a 'Home Reading Organization' for people who were not members of the university, to smuggle in extension by the back door. Although many professors were willing in principle to set up extension classes, formal connection with the university was not allowed. Nothing of the kind, said Vinogradoff, could be considered under the present conditions of educational management in Russia: 'Even detached lectures are considered by the ruling bureaucracy as a kind of violent poison.'[21]

However, Vinogradoff reported, the mid 1890s had seen a movement for objective knowledge, in which the universities were making tentative steps towards extension-type activities. Professor Protopoff from Odessa University had actually visited England in 1894 to study extension methods. His report had been approved by his home university on the prompting of the South Russian Society for Scientific Research, and a formal start was made in the autumn of 1895.[22] The programme closely followed the English model with two terms of three months each and lectures, open to all ages and sexes, in which syllabuses were provided. The courses were mostly on scientific subjects and included physics, mathematics, chemistry, botany, bacteriology, zoology and anatomy, no doubt reflecting the society's interests

but also perhaps with an eye to the prevailing political situation.

In his report to the 1900 Paris conference on higher education, on the situation in Russia, Professor A. Vassilieff of the University of Kasan claimed that the first courses of the English type in Russia were held in Kasan in 1895 by the Physical-Mathematics Society.[23] These too were of the objective-knowledge type, centring on the subjects of philosophy of science, mechanics, astronomy, chemistry and meteorology. Vassilieff also noted how the promoters wished to imitate to the highest degree the English type of extension, with six-lesson courses and printed syllabuses. It is difficult not to conclude that with such inflexibility on the part of the state, these modest demands of university extension, in which the intellectuals may well have played a mediating role of class *rapprochement*, gave way to more energetic means of political modernization.

The Balkans

If there was much university extension activity in the Balkans little of it reached the notice of organs of publication in Western Europe. Extension-type courses were introduced into Sofia in Bulgaria only in the latter part of the First World War, with the not necessarily liberal aim of strengthening the military alliance. In Romania, however, interest was shown earlier, but again the 'liberal' attitude seems to have been questionable. The Rector of Jassy University declared unequivocally, in 1900, that extension took the ideas formed by the élite to the masses and raised the masses up to civilization (although how such levitation was achieved, he did not say).[24]

In the Balkan countries of what later became Yugoslavia, the relative lack of universities made extension impossible until quite late, and regular students were more likely to study at Austrian or German universities. However in 1907 the People's University of Zagreb was founded on the initiative of Dr Albert Bazala, an assistant professor at the regular university there.[25] This was intended to be a reflection of the English movement, under the description, 'science outside the walls'. Because of problems in obtaining official permission, courses did not begin until 1912 and were then interrupted in 1916 by the World War. Several series of six-week courses along English lines were held and in 1918, after the war, courses at Zagreb were resumed. Bazala also began the first journal for popular education, devoted to 'folk universities and high school extension' (which, if this is an accurate

translation, represented an interesting miscegenation of university extension and folk high schools). The People's University of Zagreb thrived between the two world wars as the centre of educational and cultural life in the city by receiving many distinguished international lecturers. It continued to hold courses, on a much reduced, but still independent basis, even into the Second World War; eventually it seems to have been absorbed into the Tito government's educational structures. There were apparently other 'people's universities' but, except for the Belgrade 'extension', names are not available. These may have provided the basis for the Yugoslav 'workers' universities' of the Communist period.

The *universités populaires* and extension: Spain, Italy and the Netherlands

The eruption of the popular university (*UP*) tendency in France marked a new stage in adult education. Although, as we have seen, many of the European extension movements appear to have been initiated by workers' associations, the *UPs* were a qualitative change. It was marked by a number of specific elements (touched on in Stuart Marriott's contribution to this volume), but included a wholly worker-inspired and, initially at least, worker-organized, movement; a high political profile, at first anarchistic but increasingly incorporated into Radical and Masonic ideologies of class *rapprochement* — 'solidarism' — lack of national formal organization and marked spontaneity, rapid expansion and contraction.

The provision offered by *UPs* differed widely, but unlike extension it placed less emphasis on formally organized courses and systematic study and relied more on the single lecture. In many places it became little more than a social club for workers' families. However this movement, or at least its name, became widely adopted over Southern Europe by the turn of the century, much in the way that 'university extension' and 'folk high schools' were in the north. Although rough divisions between the type of provision and context could be drawn — for example, between urban, liberal and social studies in the case of the extension system, and rural, residential and vocationally orientated provision in the case of the folk high schools — there was much overlap. Extension courses could also later be found in the

country, and folk high schools became a feature of many large towns.

What the term 'popular university' tended to signify, alternatively, was origins in a workers' self-help association (even if it later suffered *embourgeoisement*), a radical, anarchist or socialist political orientation and a democratic organization. The name seems also to have indicated in many cases the absence of a formal university. Where university intellectuals did support the *UPs*, reports sometimes speak of their providing 'extension' courses, as if that was taken to mean exceptional, systematic courses by academics, but this was by no means universal. Sometimes the terms for popular university and extension were used interchangeably. What the first title might be generally understood to indicate was lack of dependence on an actual university and a high degree of local autonomy for provision.

Spain

In Spain, the British '1919 Report' on adult education concluded, both organizational forms (*UPs* and extension) existed in parallel, one based on the French system and the other based on the English; but, except to gesture to a north–south divide, it did not specify the difference.[26] A distinct Spanish extension movement could be identified however. The article by Ruben Landa on Spain in the 1929 World Association *Handbook* suggested that extension was started by a number of universities at the turn of the century. Under the influence of Don Leopoldo Alas ('Clarin') and followers of Don Francisco Giner de los Rios, who was chiefly responsible for the modern movement of educational reform in Spain, the University of Oviedo was the focal point of the movement. Universities in general did little for working men, Landa said, but through extension work academics took an active role in the athenaeums and workers' associations and the number of popular lectures and people's libraries had increased markedly. Landa also made the interesting observation that the People's University of Segovia also provided extension courses, in which, I think, he makes the distinction suggested above. The Madrid Athenaeum, he noted, had exercised considerable influence on the intellectual life of the country.[27] This report confirmed the outline given at the 1900 Paris conference on higher education by a group of Spanish intellectuals from Oviedo, who said that extension-type activities had begun with educational colonies in the summer months. University extension, they maintained, originated in the voluntary activities of lecturers

who devoted time outside work hours to raising the level of general culture through books, pamphlets, examinations, classes and popular lectures.[28]

Because of the piecemeal nature of this involvement, however, the higher education section of the Spanish, Portuguese and American Congress on the Fourth Centenary of Discovering America, concluded that the term university extension, indicating what they called 'the sympathetic movement which from England has been extended to all civilized nations', could not be applied to activities in Spain, and that this should be remedied by concerted action. They resolved therefore that: first, universities should contribute to general culture; secondly, students should popularize education in the vacations through lectures and classes and public meetings; thirdly, lecturers should give brief practical courses and classes of a popular nature and supervise instruction for the public; fourthly, universities should open up their resources to studious non-members; fifthly, reviews of the universities' work should be published for external consumption; and finally, lecturers should publish scientific abstracts of a popular nature. Because these were only recommendations, it was some years later that other universities took up the challenge, while Oviedo was the first to organize systematic courses.

Oviedo's courses, although primarily 'concerned with the national culture', displayed a remarkably radical approach to workers' education, for while they contained the expected measures of 'objective knowledge' and national history, there were also vocational courses for workers and courses in political rights and political suffrage, contemporary social issues, modern philosophy and cosmological questions. The programmes were notable both for their wide range of subjects and for their orientation towards social history, the political sciences and direct concern with workers' organizations, while, in a departure from the British pattern, they also appear to have engaged with functional and vocational issues. How far Oviedo was exceptional is unclear; but the only other extension centres mentioned in reports were Saragossa and Barcelona.

Italy

The uncertainty about the precise nature of popular education in which university intellectuals were involved in the late 1890s in Spain, because of the arrival of the term 'popular university', is more than doubled in the case of Italy. Here the problem may have been overdetermined by other cultural

considerations because of the fragmented nature of Italian nationalism, the tenacity of a romanticized folk culture, the alienation of Italian intellectuals from popular movements, the rise of a peculiarly vital and theorized form of socialism and ultimately the appalling convergence of some of the earlier factors in the emergence of Fascism after the First World War.

What is clear is that university extension on the English model, although occasionally admired and emulated, never gained a distinct foothold in Italian cultural life. Instead, it might argued, elements of extension-type activity could be seen in what became the prominent form of adult education, the *università popolari*. By 1900, it could also be argued, the whole attempt to attach a name to popular education which included some element of university involvement was now so hopelessly fraught with difficulty that the older terms could no longer be made to signify an agreed and understood concept.

No such qualms, however, troubled the triumphalist description of developments in Italy in the *University Extension Journal*'s only report on that country, published in 1902. Entitled 'The University Extension Movement in Italy', it claimed that extension was well established, on the evidence of a weekly paper called, paradoxically, *Università Popolari Italiane*,[29] and flourished in the major cities of Milan, Florence, Turin, Venice and Naples, and also in a number of smaller towns, Alessandria, Brescia, Crema, Ferrara, Pisa, Rimini and Trieste. Even more remarkably the Italian colony at Tunis had a centre. The subjects studied appeared to be marked by a significantly social inflexion of 'objective knowledge' and included Democracy and Science, Social Morality, Political Economy, Physics, Electricity, Experimental Psychology, Agriculture, Chemistry, Industrial Education, and Commercial Law, with only a few courses on literature and the arts. But, other reports suggest, since most of these towns did not possess a university from which academic support could be obtained, the quality of provision was so low that the centres should have been called 'cultural schools' (*scuole culturale*) rather than popular universities. They were provided by what the '1919 Report' called 'predominantly socialistic' town councils rather than workers' associations or university academics, often more in a spirit of municipal competitiveness than in response to educational need.

Sporadic interest in English university extension, and particularly in the contribution of women to the movement, had dated from the early 1890s

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however. Fanny Zampini Salazar, a campaigner for women's education in Italy, published an account of the position of women's education in Britain under the title of *Antiche lotte, Speranza nuove* which drew attention to the little-remarked fact that English women had taken a prominent part in the establishment and support of university extension, something from which Italian women could learn.[50]

Later (male) commentators argued that university extension was quite alien to the Italian mind. The World Association's *Bulletin* XXII, on adult education in Italy, contained ice-cream scoops of sentimentalism about 'the people' and a virulent attack on what it saw as the class character of university extension. It claimed that the university towns of Rome, Bologna, Milan, Naples, Florence and Turin,

> will not have remained untouched by the general world trend in adult extension, that of the nineteenth century university extension movement. Therefore Italy too has her 'Popular University'. But there, more than in other countries even, is modern culture restricted to the bourgeoisie, and the sifting, condensing and popularizing of this select culture carries no message with it to the people whose language would be that of myths, legends and song. [...] The popular lecture, the diffusion beyond a certain sphere of exactly that which is familiar to all within it, failed from the outset, as it was doomed to fail. The Popular University has served, as in so many other countries, to revive, stimulate and furnish knowledge for those already partially informed.[51]

A rather more serious critique, which was less romanticized and even more aggressively class-conscious, came from Antonio Gramsci, the future leader of the Italian Communist Party. He several times attacked the popular university movement in the left-wing press as having no understanding of the different needs and background of people who had not been through secondary school, and as merely aping the curricula of existing bourgeois universities.[52] In an article in the Socialist newspaper *Avanti!* considering the need for a workers' cultural association, Gramsci dismissed the popular university in Turin as mere bourgeois charity:

> It is best not to speak of the Popular University. It has never been alive, it has never functioned so as to respond to a real need. Its origin is bourgeois and it is based on a vague and confused criterion of spiritual humanitarianism. It has the same effectiveness as charitable institutions which believe that with a bowl of soup they can satisfy the physical needs of wretches who cannot appease their hunger and who move the tender hearts of their superiors to pity.[53]

Gramsci, then at the extreme moment of his refusal of bourgeois culture, urged that the Turin proletariat, which he regarded as at the highest point of its development, should dispense with all bourgeois cultural props and agenda and create its own specifically proletarian institution for its own class ends. However a decade or so later, while detained at *Il Duce*'s pleasure, he moderated his view and suggested that the real value of the *UPs* had been as an expression of the determination of the 'simple' to attain a higher cultural level and higher conception of the world. The tragedy, though, was that they and the intellectuals had not been able to form an 'historical bloc' which would take the problems of the 'simple' as the source of its intellectual activities and create a form of thought superior to common sense and coherent on the scientific plane.[34] Unfortunately, Gramsci's meditations on this theme could only take the form of notes, but they do raise consideration of the relationship of the intellectuals to the people on to a higher plane. The reformulation of the project of progressive popular education, which began with university extension in the 1870s, addressed by Gramsci's observations, was arguably already under way in Britain in the WEA under the influence of Tawney and Cole, and in the Plebs League which was trying to create its own 'organic intellectuals' but which also remained unfinished business.[35]

The Netherlands

In contrast to Italy, the Netherlands had a relatively well articulated educational system with a prominent secondary sector. The maturity of this sector, according to Dutch academics, rendered extension on the English model unnecessary. Extension, they explained, since it was merely a rather poor substitute in England for such a system, was quite redundant in the Netherlands. In 1900, van Hamel of Groningen University maintained that the origins of extension in the Netherlands could not be seen as popular. This was because popular education circles, which built on the success of Dutch secondary education, had been organized for many years in villages and towns on a voluntary basis. Since there was already widespread provision of evening classes on literature, history and natural science, it did not seem necessary to take such a large step as to organize a general extension movement and indeed the universities, he claimed, had not contributed.[36]

In the face of this indifference in the late 1890s, it fell to the Dutch minister of education to attempt to interest the universities in extension

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work. The senates reservedly replied that the universities would never refuse to be involved in popular education, so long as it did not detract from their main aim of advancing science and preparing students for their careers. Given the right conditions, they were open to invitations. Following these discussions between the government and the universities, one of the older well-established voluntary associations, the Society for the Common Benefit, organized in the name of university extension scientific courses for adults, many of which were given by university staff. It was clear that this attempt to involve the universities in popular education was still viewed with scepticism by the academic fraternity. Van Hamel's somewhat Olympian perspective was that the strength of extension lay not so much in the little knowledge that the university staff could pass on to the people as in the penetration of the scientific spirit into the masses, who, he said, lived their lives in more or less superstitious confusion. Perhaps there was still an ivory tower problem here?

By the time of the 1929 conference of the World Association for Adult Education, university extension had in the Netherlands become identified with the popular universities movement, which surfaced in that country only in 1913. The first people's university was founded in Amsterdam in that year, and was followed the next year by one in Groningen, after which progress was interrupted by the war. Afterwards ten new ones were in operation by 1920. Of these the Hague was the largest, followed by Rotterdam and Amsterdam, with Gouda and Arnhem the smallest.

Because of their late development in the Netherlands and the possible grafting of popular universities on to what there already was of university extension, Jenny Kraft's contribution to the World Association conference of 1929 conflated both forms under the title of 'The People's Universities (University Extension)'.[37] She did not distinguish between the two and was moreover severely critical of them, rather in the Italian manner, claiming that although they aimed at the lower-middle and working classes, they appealed mostly to the already educated. Perhaps there was not a little partisanship in her assessment, for she claimed that amongst the variety of adult educational movements 'the Socialist Institute alone frankly acknowledges that its aim is to make the working classes ripe for socialization and to found a new civilization on socialistic principles'.[38]

Like van Hamel, Kraft emphasized that the popular university/university

extension was not really popular, and she was rather baffled to account for its existence. Most remarkably, though, she detected the revolutionary shift in popular education, from extension lectures to the tutorial system, which had been wrought in Britain in 1903 with the formation of the Workers' Educational Association:

> A moot point remains, the Daltonisation of the University Extension Movement itself — i.e., making the students become more than mere listeners and getting them to bear the work of their self-development on their own shoulders. Reports and discussions thereon have brought some of the People's Universities to the establishment of so-called working men's clubs or tutorial classes, as set out by Mr. Albert Mansbridge, which are fairly successful as far as they go.[10]

Despite Kraft's downbeat assessment, her insight is interesting because it understood the radical shift in the British movement, by which grass-roots democratic control was redressing university paternalism, in terms of the mysterious process of Daltonization. (A reference—or mis-reference perhaps — to the American Helen Parkhurst's 'Dalton Plan' of individualized learning and self-pacing for school pupils.) Kraft appears to indicate that the Dutch people's universities, themselves a fusion of the English and French models, had consciously adapted the next major development in adult education in England, the tutorial class, to their own needs.

This seems to be an example of active multi-pathed interculturality, in that it was, arguably, the example of the more radical grass-roots organization of the French *universités populaires* which had also set the British on this path and to insist that the universities provided tutorial classes under democratic guidance in place of what they saw as the charitable *données* of the extension system. Kraft's inability, or refusal, to distinguish between university extension and popular universities and her assumption of their parentage of the tutorial class may, therefore, be a clarifying moment in the historical discourse of university adult education.

Conclusion

The eruption of 'university extension' across Europe seems to have been associated with a number of factors which can be listed with some degree of confidence. There seems always to have been some history of popular education in the countries concerned, perhaps the most important element of which involved the notion of objective knowledge or scientific education.

As we have seen, societies for promoting scientific understanding had usually been in place, for some decades in most cases, before extension classes were subsequently provided often in the same premises and by the same people. The belief in educated circles that a scientific education would fertilize the means to a rational solution of society's problems was widespread. In particular it was felt that the working classes could benefit most from this approach, which would wean them from more violent and revolutionary solutions, a point of view also held by many of the leaders of the working-class movements themselves.

This message was carried by a variety of institutions, from the societies often under aristocratic patronage which operated in metropolitan cities, to provincial municipalities, especially in Scandinavia where it was seen to hold the elements of an education for citizenship. Other voluntary societies and informal groups for the promotion of scientific understanding, sometimes attached to universities, also became the bases for extension work. Extension in this context, then, seems to have been associated with progressive liberal organizations anxious perhaps to win the more thoughtful artisans and craftsmen over to rational social approaches. Popular science was a major element of all extension provision and a leitmotif in discussions about it. Many of the previous societies for promoting it were then simply absorbed, especially, as in some eastern European countries, where extension was promoted by the state.

The special attraction of the English model of university extension for many academics lay in their perception that it had developed the scientific method for a more general social application. Darwin's theory of evolution was especially influential and seemed to fit in with liberal and radical views about the evolution of bourgeois society to a higher stage. Even Marx had wanted to dedicate the first volume of *Capital* to Darwin (only to receive a sharp rebuff).

A second source of extension classes lay in the activities of workers' self-help educational groups, which often took the 'scientific approach' to social problems. Exactly who these groups were which had petitioned, in Prague and Copenhagen for example, needs closer examination, and whether they were the same kind which had moved to found the Mickiewicz society in Poland. These groups seem to be found most often in the context of socialist and nationalist movements, the emphasis depending on the country, from

the social-democratic movements of the north to the national-independence movements of the east. They were predominantly urban and may already have been associated with university intellectuals. Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, for example, was among the leadership in both the political and academic spheres.

A related further source of extension work was the voluntary activity of academics and students, who in many cases gave lectures to popular audiences out of a sense of religious or social duty. No doubt John Ruskin, the lurking genius behind extension who was himself the subject of courses in Oviedo, was an inspiration. Many of these academics had studied extension methods in England and so were themselves the direct agents of cultural transmission, but again it is difficult to separate their educational activities from the context of radical, socialist and nationalist movements. The example of Belgium is interesting in that it shows how Paul Frédericq's initial attempt to introduce extension had failed, only to be reawakened when the movement for Flemish nationalism took off some years later.

The profession of education itself is also intimately bound up with expressions of extension activity. On the negative side, in France and the Netherlands, English extension was seen as a poor substitute for secondary education, with the result that its introduction was delayed until the turn of the century, and then it came only by government persuasion and not on the initiative of academics. In France, indeed, it may have been the reluctance of the universities to reach out to the people that stimulated the grass-roots popular university movement.

Whatever the popular and often oppositional roots of extension, it often became the vehicle for teachers' and especially women teachers' professional development. The English summer schools were, for example, great occasions for the 'Teachers' International' energetically to debate questions of academic freedom and professional conditions of service. Later, recognizing this fact, many courses were held especially for teachers. The role of teachers, whose numbers had been vastly inflated by women from the lower-middle and working classes drawn in as a result of the expansion and regularization of education in the late nineteenth century, as a vehicle for cultural transmission cannot be overstated. In Sweden university extension was quite consciously aimed at teachers from Hjärne's introductory lectures onward, whilst in Bohemia teachers took over from the workers' associations as the

social base for extension. The birth of extension in England was perhaps crucially en-gendered by women, many of whom had been engaged in informal educational and welfare work with factory girls, and this feminization of adult education may have accounted for its being perceived as an agent of class *rapprochement* and socialization.

Extension was also the leading edge of the modern universities movement which had belatedly recognized the need to climb down from the ivory tower. Leeds University was itself the outcome of such a movement, several of its leading historians and social scientists having been engaged after experience in the extension movement. Arthur Smithells, himself a professor of chemistry at Leeds, was one of those who had argued that the new universities must not ape Oxbridge but must instead become responsive to the needs of the industrial city and its inhabitants.[40] In this and many other ways extension has to be seen as part of the process in Europe of modernizing social life to take into account the demands for universal suffrage, modern technology and the introduction of an integrated welfare system, the site of complex negotiations between the intellectuals and 'the people' for the New Life. Unfortunately the New Life was never delivered in full, but that is part of another story. Another fascinating story, which has only been partly uncovered—in relation to 'solidarism' and the French popular universities—is the role of Freemasonry in this great civilizing mission.

References and Notes

1 A fuller account is available in Tom Steele, 'Draft Report on University Extension in Europe' (unpublished, University of Leeds, Study of Continuing Education Unit, 1992). It is intended that the report, with sections on Germany and Austria added, will appear in print in due course.

2 The material for this study, although little known to historians of adult education writing in English, is taken largely from published works. It comes from books, articles and reports in English and French, and also through Stuart

Marriott's notes from German-language sources. For convenience the following abbreviations are used below: *OUEG* (*Oxford University Extension Gazette*), and *UEJ* (*University Extension Journal*).

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22 *UEJ*, November 1896, 19.

23 Picavet (1902), 87.

24 Picavet (1902), 135.

25 I am grateful to Dr Juri Jug of Maribor University, Slovenia for this information. He cites two sources on university extension in the South Slav region: Hodomir Sirotkovic, *80 godina Puckog narodnog sveucilista grada Zagreba* [no date]—'80 Years of People's National University in Zagreb Town'—of which Dr Jug has supplied a published summary in English; and Ranko N. Bulatovic, *Univerziteti za sve* (Beograd, 1980)—'Universities for All'.

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27 Ruben Landa, 'Spain' in WAAE *Handbook* (1929), 389–390.

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32 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, eds D. Forgacs and G. Nowell-Smith (London, 1985), 21.

33 As note 32.

34 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (London, 1971), 329–330.

35 See Jonathan Ree, *Proletarian Philosophers* (Oxford, 1984).

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38 Kraft, 203.

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40 *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, 5 November 1906. Smithells had hoped to succeed Bodington as next vice-chancellor, but was passed over in favour of Michael Sadler.

5

The Popular Universities in Europe, 1890 to 1920: what was being popularized?

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Introduction

In 1921 the sociologist Robert Michels made some interesting remarks on the variety of motive forces behind the 'popular university' movements which had spread across Europe in the days before the recent world war. The English university extension, he suggested, was an attempt by 'students' to adapt the methods of social-welfare work in order to reach the people. In contrast, the Russian variant was more that of an educated group going down into the people, a half-socialist, half-primitive-Christian expression of a revolution of the spirit which would break down class distinctions. Then again, the Italian variety was simply an extension of the existing methods of the university professors to receptive elements of the middle and lower classes.[1] These comments, coming as they did from a well-informed onlooker, underline the significance of questions about uniformity and variety in what for a time had the appearance of a single, pan-European phenomenon.

In England a clearly articulated concept and practice of 'university extension' had emerged in the early 1870s. By 1890 similar initiatives, in some degree imitative, had taken shape in the United States, Belgium and Sweden. Over the next few years *Universitätsausdehnung* appeared in Austria and Germany. The turn of the century saw a sudden renewal of activity, most dramatically in the French *universités populaires*, but also in superficially similar activities in Italy, Spain and several parts of Central Europe.[2]

Among these varied 'people's university' movements one detects a largely

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unwritten history of cultural transfer, of modelling and direct imitation, and indeed sometimes of indebtedness through contrast or opposition. This brief internationalization of adult education produced a rhetorical convergence, suggested by the accompanying baggage of institutional titles—*university extension*, *Volkshochschule*, *università popolare* and so on, and their equivalents and translations in the different languages.

The rhetoric cannot be taken at face value, however. A central difficulty concerned 'the people': the identification of the proper audience and the relationship of adult education to *the people* at large were critical issues for several of these movements. Another complementary problem, with which this chapter is specifically concerned, had to do with the content of the people's universities—just what was to be popularized and how?

The question implies that in a given socio-political setting there were cultural activists who envisaged a paradigm of organized intelligence capable of being extended beyond the privileged minority usually identified as the 'university class'. What moved these people, as carriers and would-be mediators of an enlarged philosophy and practice of education, cannot be considered without reference to their own social location and relationship to the institution of the 'university'. And crucial in practice were the 'what' and the 'how', the operative notions of learning and its uses, and of the teaching procedures believed to further it.

The broad rhetoric of higher education for the people contained recurrent sub-themes: the university of course, and also, in various combinations, enlightenment, national culture, science, objectivity, reasonable discussion, political democracy, citizenship, fellowship, class reconciliation, and more. One wonders whether the protagonists in the different countries could all have been using the same language, so to speak. Clearly there are questions here of the universal and the particular. Steele (in a contribution to this volume, and elsewhere) has begun to speculate on possible general dimensions of this 'movement', for example on the rise of science and secular 'modernism' as a precondition of attempts to extend the universities. There are no doubt many other resources of cultural and intellectual history awaiting exploitation.[3] A complementary approach is to examine how apparent generalities worked out within a particular practice and in historically contingent circumstances: what follows is a preliminary encounter with the general and the particular through the history of the peoples'

universities in three major cultural settings, England, the German-speaking world, and France.

The English universities and the English people [4]

Michels was not the first to suppose that the mediators of university extension in England were 'students' engaged in a kind of social work. Over the previous thirty years a succession of observers, from France and the United States for example, had been drawing attention to their youthfulness and lack of assured position in the staffing of the universities.[5] Yet, contrary to what such condescension might suggest, university extension in England had in fact established itself and was set on a more promising course into the future than any of the comparable ventures elsewhere. If foreign observers did arrive at a wrong view of the situation, it may have been because of a failure to understand the peculiarly English implementation of the idea of the 'university' and of its interaction with progressive intelligence.

The notion of 'enlightenment', so common in European debate around the turn of the century, and still a natural point of reference for historians of popular education on the Continent, does not fall naturally into any examination of English adult education after the middle of the nineteenth century. Certainly one can produce many examples showing that the pioneers of university extension were concerned to deliver objective knowledge to the unenlightened, and the prominence of economics and physical science in the early lecture-lists has been well recognized.[6] One can even find Continental-style references to the need to dispel the shadows of superstition. Still, the prevailing tone of contemporary discussion in England was rather different, tending more towards the moral and the inspirational.

In England the debate had moved beyond the categories of the eighteenth century. The culture-bearing classes were accommodating to a mature industrial society and the demand for an enlarged political democracy. They had lived through the great confrontation between science and religion, and many had resolved the ensuing unease by transmuting spiritual concerns into secular ethics and civic activism. For some the process was brilliantly illuminated by Matthew Arnold's preoccupation with *Culture and Anarchy*; for others by a philosophy of 'Practical Idealism' supposedly derived from Hegelian origins. Some of the earliest extension lecturers sent out by

Cambridge University to teach economics recalled that their motivation had been to test 'book learning' against the realities of industrial life, but plainly their interest in the theory–practice connection was as much social and moral as scientific.

Science (in the English sense of the word) was undeniably imposing its own capacity to transform intellectual life, but the upper reaches of educational debate continued to be dominated by ideas of moral influence. The university reform movement was inextricably tied up with a refurbished theory of liberal education emphasizing character formation and social leadership; and that theory was itself very much a reflection of 'the rise of professional society'[8]—the entry of a new class into the arena of competing Victorian social ideologies. This professional class depended not on hereditary rank, capital or labour power, but on education for its credentials; it embraced an ethic of public service as its guarantee of self-respect. Its resort to the theory of liberal education was strengthened by anxieties about the cultural condition of the commercial and industrial classes, and the consequences of universal elementary education and a widening franchise.

Practical responses in the realm of adult education included the Christian Socialist programme, and then the movements for university 'extension' and 'settlements', all of which so caught the interest of liberal-minded academic visitors from overseas. A German visitor of later years, Klaus Künzel, has offered a more sceptical-historical view of the doings of those whom he aptly calls 'the missionary dons'. Their plan of 'extension', he suggests, appealed to the universities, not because it was a realistic response to a real need, but because it promised to be a useful auxiliary in the academics' campaign to assert claims to political and moral authority in an era of great social change.[9]

Extension did indeed become an accepted university activity, and it enjoyed, during its more energetic periods, an organic connection with the progressive part of the academic world. As a result, even though the movement seemed to be conducted by youthful *francs tireurs*, these were recruits to a continuing and broader movement for educational reform. The young men who built up extension (most obviously Stuart at Cambridge and Sadler at Oxford) worked under the patronage of older men who had served their time in earlier reform struggles and had become respected (if not always uncontroversial) senior figures. The movement benefited also from the peculiar usage of residence at the old universities. An intense social life under

the collegiate system, and the popularity of discussion and sporting clubs meant there was no rigid demarcation between younger dons and undergraduates. And, unlike the German universities, the English encouraged political debate among their junior members, as a training for leadership in public life. The result was an easy infiltration of the universities by social activism, and the recruitment year after year of able young men into successive movements of good works.[10] Although relatively few members of the established intra-mural staff gave much time to extension lecturing, the system was formally incorporated; the universities were prepared, and particularly on certain ceremonial occasions, to claim the credit for taking the higher learning out to the people.

The 'what?' of the English extension system was an embodiment of the universities' ideal of a liberal, character-forming use of higher education. Although there were disputes about whether a university *education* could be effectively opened to the people, there was no doubt that university *teaching* and its essential spirit could be extended to them. Thus the universities concurred in the popularization of something which was undeniably an important part of themselves.

James Stuart began his propaganda for 'university extension' in 1871. Scientific and practical interests (he would eventually become a professor of theoretical mechanics and a Radical member of Parliament) were no bar to his offering a highly moralized account of how higher education was to be extended to the people. It was to be a humane and universal undertaking, which unlike most other schemes of instruction would have no connection with the division of labour in society. Its purpose was to help people 'to acquire the inestimable habit of viewing the bearings of various things on one another [...] to regard the world, not in the light of isolated individualism, but as one vast and interconnected whole.' The means was to be 'true teaching', a 'beautiful process whereby the bands and fetters that warp, restrain, and press upon the human mind are unwound, and the soul is educated in freedom by the gradual and judicious discovery of its own abilities'. Such an experience, Stuart insisted, could be brought within the reach of the masses, 'and especially of the poor, industrious, hard-working, and intelligent populations of our great towns'.[11]

It was the requirement of 'true teaching' which seemed to link ideals and practice, and to command a partnership of popular education and the

universities. 'True teachers', Stuart argued, 'may appear from any quarter, but the great repositories of good teaching and of good teachers are the Universities, and our universities may be defined as bodies of men provided with leisure for the pursuit of their studies on the condition of teaching those who desire to be taught.' For many years into the future the history of university adult education in England was to be a story of struggles with the practical implications of Stuart's founding principles.

A highly organized system of extension teaching emerged, and interestingly it exhibited a duality of inspiration and method. Richard Moulton, Cambridge's brilliant lecturer of the early years, spoke of Everyman's right of access to culture, and culture's duty to make converts: 'To infuse a missionary spirit into culture—that is the purpose of University Extension.' Hudson Shaw, his opposite number at Oxford, saw it as his function to teach inspirationally and was never disowned for doing so, indeed for nine years he held a fellowship of Balliol College, given in recognition of his work as a public lecturer of the university. An American observer described Shaw as a sympathetic teacher who was also a 'preacher and leader of men'.[12]

Was this an adapted, an enlarged, a revolutionized, or simply a manipulative conception of the university in its relation to the people? An impossible question, surely—but what can be said is that the vision combined an offer of moral leadership on the part of the progressive educated class and a matching invitation to the English people to rise above their social limitations in order to enter into their cultural inheritance. From the earliest years onwards one becomes familiar with the themes of reconciliation between social classes, admission of the unjustly excluded, education for citizenship, and the practice of reasonable discussion. The extension movement associated these purposes with an idealized concept of 'the university', and none of the real universities which became involved ever denied that they might be part of its legitimate business.

Universitätsausdehnung

Ideas of university extension, derived from the English example, began to attract real attention in the German-speaking countries after 1893. In 1895 a scheme was formally approve by the University of Vienna and the Austrian education ministry; small-scale experiments followed in other parts of

German Austria. In 1896 came the first of several attempts to have extension recognized by German universities; all of these failed, and as a substitute non-official associations of professors and lecturers were set up in a number of university towns. For linguistic, geographical and cultural reasons, the 'German' movement always had something of a unified character. Doctrinal arguments and news reports were readily exchangeable, and a shared structure of conference-going flourished for a time before 1914. But in a number of respects there was marked internal differentiation. In his classic study of 1929 Keilhacker recognized that there had been two rather different 'tendencies',[13] and modern Austrian commentators tend to treat their branch of the movement as something special. In this discussion Germany and Austria are considered together precisely because of the interest of these similarities and differences.

A persisting historical question is whether the movement in the German-speaking countries is to be understood as a real innovation, or as a variation on established practices of scientific popularization and enlightenment. A related question is whether the forms of popular education which prevailed up to the First World War, *Universitätsausdehnung* included, really did deserve the opprobrium which was heaped upon them in later years. The *Alte Richtung* (literally 'old direction') came to be represented, notoriously, as the stubborn pursuit of a debased form of *Aufklärung* (enlightenment) into an age when such an option had already exhausted itself.

'Enlightenment' was a vital strand in German and Austrian popular education from the pre-1848, *Vormärz* period right through into the early twentieth century. Its emphases changed over time, in step with evolving bourgeois-democratic aspirations and ideas of national identity, and it became all the more salient with industrialization and the threatening 'social question'. As Dräger puts it, the progressives believed that conflict and contradiction must fade in the light of advances in knowledge. From the bourgeois point of view, education, if pursued objectively and in political neutrality, itself provided a working model of peaceful social evolution.[14] Although popular education was not static, it continued to emphasize the dissemination of objective knowledge and intellectual goods as the means of bringing ordinary people into the general culture of the *Volk*. In Germany the great umbrella organization, the *Gesellschaft für Verbreitung von Volksbildung* (society for spreading popular education) founded significantly in

1871, aspired to become a piece of 'cultural apparatus', co-ordinating all those popular activities which its general secretary later referred to as 'the market halls and stores of national culture'.[15] The condition of successful popularization was generally taken to be the sensitive tuning of method. As a result the discourse of *Volksbildung* tended to be unphilosophical, dominated by practical-technical matters, and not rendered 'problematic' in the way later critics would like it to have been.

What role was there for this kind of popular education in a society where social democracy was part of the political system in only a negative sense, liberalism was in retreat and the neo-conservative agenda becoming increasingly attractive? The first wave of critics, classically Robert von Erdberg, were to condemn its flat, 'external' and 'extensive' tendency and the consequent reduction of popular enlightenment to a piling-up of 'unproductive intellectual capital'.[16] But meanwhile university extension had crossed the educational stage and had helped establish in the language the term *Volkshochschule* (only misleadingly translated as 'folk high school').

In the German-speaking countries and in England there was a common factor in this addition of extension to the repertoire of popular education: it meant that the 'university class' became to some extent engaged, in a situation where universities were highly structured and visible institutions. Circumstances were very different in France, as will become evident. But did the eruption of *Universitätsausdehnung* in the later 1890s really bring the institutional university into play? In Central Europe the universities might regard themselves as constituting the core of the nation's mental experience, but (now more than a generation beyond the events of 1848) they had come to define themselves more and more in inward-looking, 'academic' terms.

It is all the more surprising, then, that in Austria 'university extension' found official acceptance and proved to be the most durable of all the Continental and Nordic movements. In one respect it surpassed its own mentor: in England extension was associated only with the universities as autonomous corporations, and never (in the period considered here) did it win direct recognition from the state. Its apparently greater institutional success in Austria may be attributable to that country's particular penchant for official regulation, but the point still awaits historical clarification.

At the level of expediency there was an interesting similarity between the Austrian and English cases, for in both countries university extension

functioned to provide employment opportunities for an academic underclass. Indeed this could be described as one of the purposes of the original Vienna initiative, which was explicitly tied in with the 'Privatdozentenfrage', the problem of what to do about the crowd of under-employed assistant lecturers.[17] (There was an interesting side-effect: the general approach in Austria was to require that extension lectures be given by recognized university teachers, and in this respect the movement was more definitely an 'extension' than the English original.)

There seems also to have been some comparability in the 'public relations' value attributed to both movements. Austria had an unusually liberal political constitution, and as in England the turn to adult education may have reflected anxieties about the franchise and the presumptions of popular democracy. In 1891 the *Oxford University Extension Gazette* had argued that greater official recognition of extension work would help justify in an increasingly democratic age the continuance of the university 'as a place of research and advanced instruction'. There is a remarkable parallel in an article by Ludo Hartmann, the guiding spirit of the Vienna movement, published almost twenty years later, which argued that outgoing universities would be seen as institutions for the general good and not as preserves of privilege. In a democratic age, Hartmann insisted, it was vital to reconcile the people to the universities and to secure general respect, not just for knowledge in general, but for the active pursuit of research.[18]

There was nevertheless a distinctive cultural factor which seems to have justified and shaped the Austrian popular university, at least in its Viennese manifestation. It was found in the cosmopolitan intellectual atmosphere of the Habsburg capital and the role of the educated bourgeoisie, and the University, as carriers of a lively secular rationalism.[19] A key figure from the point of view of this chapter was Ernst Mach, the physicist and philosopher of science, who held a chair in the 'Theory of the Inductive Sciences' at Vienna from 1895. Not only was Mach a practising popularizer and declared friend of adult education, his doctrine of 'empirio-criticism' became greatly influential, and something of a cultural phenomenon in its own right. Leading academic supporters of university extension in Austria, such as Ludo Hartmann and Emil Reich, appear to have been militant rationalists in this mould. Their watchword for education, 'neutrality', was no ready-made slogan but derived from serious, and indeed radical, reflection. It was

also the case that an appeal to neutrality helped justify the proposed *rapprochement* between the university and the people. When the University of Vienna accepted its new mission in 1895 and the education ministry agreed to provide substantial financial assistance, neutrality was written large in the statutes of the committee of management.

The promoters of university extension in Germany also adopted the slogan of neutrality. Indeed the group of distinguished professors who first petitioned Berlin's Humboldt University in 1896 adopted much of the rhetoric and actual phraseology of the Vienna statutes. How could they have done otherwise, given the state of mind of the German academic caste? The stratagem failed anyway, and at Berlin, as elsewhere, 'the university' refused to offer corporate sanction to those who wanted to 'extend' it. An eye-witness to the events at Berlin later recalled that the older professors and representatives of the Prussian government held the very idea 'für aussichtslos, ja für schädlich' ('as pointless, indeed damaging').[20]

In fact the middle-class, and occasionally the working-class, public responded more enthusiastically than did the German universities themselves. In an academic world generally in retreat from all progressive social sentiment, this new enthusiasm was confined to a small minority of left-liberals. The great majority of their colleagues, bolstered up by the *Kastendünkel* (caste-arrogance) of the highly educated, and insulated by the belief that the world of learning was on a plane above the merely political, remained unimpressed. Michael Sadler reported in 1897, 'there is no country in the world in which the methods and principles of University Extension work are being as carefully sifted, as generously championed, and—let me add—as hotly attacked, as they are in Germany.' This polarization arose inevitably out of the German conception of the purpose of higher learning. The 'attempt to bridge over the gulf between University studies and higher popular education', Sadler said, was seen by the orthodox as completely alien, as 'bizarre, unusual, and unseemly'. It was perhaps the greatest tribute ever accorded to the significance of the movement, he slyly added, that German educators should now be 'either vigorously advocating its adoption, or (what is the other form of compliment) as vigorously denouncing it, not as futile or evanescent, but as perilous to the order of society'.[21]

What happened in fact was that the movement for extension work in Germany proceeded as an entirely voluntary movement. Provision was made

by independent committees, set up sometimes by sympathetic lecturers and professors from the local university (joined in some cases by staff from a neighbouring *Technische Hochschule*); by civic committees formed for the purpose, on which academics were well represented; or more vaguely through existing cultural and scientific societies. Apart from the use of fashionable titles — *Universitätsausdehnung, volkstümliche Hochschulvorträge* (popular higher-education lectures), increasingly even *Volkshochschule* — there was not always much to distinguish this from what had been done before. So, as Keilhacker pointed out in 1929, the situation in Germany was ambiguous, and it was often difficult to be sure whether one was dealing with a *university* extension at all.[22]

The prime movers of the German movement seem not to have been radical young reformers. Rather one thinks of progressive but established figures such as Lujo Brentano, Wilhelm Rein, Paul Natorp, who against the odds were clinging to an outward-looking conception of the universities' role. They deplored the social isolation of their fellow academics, and urged them, without much success, to recognize their democratic obligations. Even the appeal to prudence, the argument that popularization was good public relations, made no impression. It would be forgivable to present extension work in Germany, not as a forward movement, but as a liberal rearguard action, one instance of the efforts of progressive opinion to maintain a tolerable posture on the bed of nails of German political choice. Indeed some later commentators have seen the German movement not as a positive contribution at all, but as a phase in the increasing mutual alienation of the universities and serious adult education, a sign of the rift between the academy and any popular cultural practice.[23]

Nevertheless there were people in the universities who felt themselves called on to act. At the highest doctrinal level they offered culture and the power of mental self-determination to the hitherto excluded. Their method was to be the objective communication of knowledge. When deployed on German territory the doctrine of neutrality revealed certain ambiguities. There, even the left-liberal intelligentsia experienced an active fear of Social Democracy; the popular education they were anxious to support, along with welfare and public-library provision, had to promise counter-attractions to socialist doctrines and recreations. Professor Rein, in his propaganda for extension, was able to proclaim variously the need for objectivity, social

commitment, class-reconciliation and opposition to Social Democracy.[24]

In Vienna the atmosphere seems to have been subtly different. There the appeal to stringent 'neutrality' must be seen as a remarkable irruption of explicit theory into popular education. The Vienna extension operated in a special philosophical climate, in which the opposition to Idealism and Romanticism (and, it should be added, to clericalism and Catholicism) drew strength from Mach's doctrine of empirio-criticism. Witness Emil Reich, one of the earliest professorial supporters of the movement: he saw himself as involved in a rationalist enterprise, deriving from the Enlightenment and directly concerned with banishing superstition; his first condition of true freedom was the capacity to form independent judgements on men and things. Precisely the same arguments were deployed by Ludo Hartmann, acknowledged by contemporaries to be 'the soul of the undertaking', and a noted empirical-rationalist in his scholarly activities.[25] It has been pointed out that Hartmann made no new contribution to educational thinking and simply used the common currency of his time; it is still significant, though, that he did attempt to operationalize a Machian philosophy, organized around the ideal of neutrality and a vision of education as the attainment of intellectual independence.[26]

Where this differed from English (and French) approaches to popularization was its stringently cognitive view of learning and exclusion of anything bearing a hint of the moral or personal. Among Hartmann and his collaborators there was no talk of social reconciliation, as indeed there could not be. The requirement of the 'objektive Haltung' (objective attitude) meant that the promotion of either class conflict or class reconciliation was equally reprehensible.[27] One can only wonder at this heroic consistency in a man who was an increasingly active Social Democrat. Or perhaps it was a function of his theory of intellectual neutrality to secure him space where he could be a Social Democrat and still appear on the public stage.

Mach's 'monist' theorizing had another interesting political consequence in that it led to the explicit rejection of Marxian dialectics. This deeply affected Hartmann's own declared position, leading him to regard socialism as a cumulative, progressive 'Werk der Erziehung' (work of education) rather than as a provocation to climactic class-warfare.[28] (One sees why the empirio-critics and empirio-monists so infuriated Lenin, as he devoted himself in his exile, *faute de mieux*, to technical questions of philosophy.)

The definiteness of Hartmann's theory of knowledge allows one to be equally definite about what his circle believed they were offering through 'extension'. Empirio-criticism rested on the possibility of avoiding all prejudgement. It did not deny the force of world-views, but banned them, whether as content or method, from the intellectual work-place. Popular education should shape individuals, not to any particular standpoint, but to a capacity for radically independent thinking ('selbständiges Denken').[29]

There are profound questions about whether education, or philosophy itself, can dispense with presuppositions. And there is a more easily accessible uncertainty in this 'Vienna tendency' in popular education. Reich asserted the intimate association of popular education with the 'university in its true sense'. Hartmann emphasized a particular theory of education, or rather mental development, and proposed that its ideals of objective treatment and empirical observation were best guaranteed by partnership with the real-life universities.[30] Was the partnership in fact seamless and indissoluble?

Perhaps it appeared so to people who chose to remain members of the actual university. The relationship was intriguingly personified in Hartmann's own combination of active Social Democracy, partisanship for an utterly 'neutral' and anti-metaphysical theory of learning, and continuing involvement in the bourgeois worlds of the academic research and popular education. It has been suggested that this kind of ambiguity was characteristic of his place and time: that in the peculiar conditions of Austria-Hungary at the turn of the century there existed an area of overlap between the conventional middle-class and the social-democratic domains, in which progressive intellectuals could maintain a viable position.[31]

The practitioners of old-style *Volksbildung*, according to their successive waves of critics and commentators, were oddly un-curious about how the popularization of knowledge could produce its supposed wonderful effects on the audience. One reason, it has been suggested, was that the farrago of popular education did not start out from the needs of learners at all, but from a rather simplistic regard for the 'cosmos of science' and the 'authority of learning'. Whatever was approved by the educated world — as a result of objective investigation and appraisal — counted as a 'cultural good'. In a widely shared mood of positivist optimism the educators of the people assumed that the approved goods could be spread around by relatively straightforward 'extensive' methods, typically the public lecture.[32]

All this remains a zone of mild controversy. Over thirty years ago Vogel offered a friendly reassessment of certain popular educational initiatives of the 1890s, the Vienna Extension among them.[33] More recently a keen critic of the neo-romantic and obscurantist tendencies lurking beneath the surface of German adult education has defended *Ausdehnung*. Strzelewicz emphasized its progressive tendency in its own day, its striking quality as a search for rationality and a closer link between the worlds of learning and popular education; in an essay of 1986 on 'popularization' he described it as a venture still worthy of attention: a successor to the best tradition in scientific popularization, and one which acknowledged the subtle differences between different forms of scholarly discourse and sought to educate audiences beyond the demand simply for 'findings' and scientific 'authority'. Popularizers of the later nineteenth century were well aware, he argued, of the distinction between dogmatic and developmental approaches in education, and of the need to direct learners towards an appreciation of intellectual method and process. The optimism of the popularizers, however naive it may now seem, can only be completely dismissed, Strzelewicz suggested, if one supposes (with an even greater naivety?) that the competing dialectical gloom of crisis and 'cultural pessimism' did actually offer a more profound way of thinking.[34]

From an institutional perspective Knoll and Wittpoth have recently offered an even more friendly assessment of the German experiment with university extension. Although it faded away and was largely forgotten, the movement does have historical significance, they argue, in the way it marks a step on the long and uncomfortable road the German universities have travelled in search of their proper relationship to the wider public.[35]

One other apparent peculiarity of the movement in Austria and Germany deserves mention. For a non-German enquirer its literature leaves an impression of impersonality, entirely consistent with what was earlier referred to as its neutralist and highly cognitive orientation. There are many marks of commitment and even enthusiasm, but what is missing is inspiration, fellowship and sociability. Here is a question of 'sympathy' which deserves further exploration. Certainly Hartmann and his contemporaries referred often to the need for university extension to cultivate sympathy with its audience, particularly its working-class audience, but the impulse seems to have been entirely one of good organization and pedagogical practice.

During its more vibrant periods the missionaries of university extension in England went out to build unity among the social classes, to practise fellowship, even to be transformed themselves in the crucible of new social encounters. The desire to engage in fraternity and sociability have been much emphasized by historians of the French popular universities.

Universités populaires

France had its own special experience of universities for the people. The *universités populaires* had some tenuous links with university extension elsewhere, and in their day were written about as if they were a part of a Europe-wide movement. Yet they were something apart. The reasons are to be found in the peculiar status of the University in France and in the country's domestic history of intellectual radicalism.

'University' had a different meaning in principle from what obtained in the other countries dealt with in this chapter, and for real-world purposes it had little effective significance at all. Under the Napoleonic reforms *l'Université* was defined as the centralized state agency responsible for secondary and higher education. One historical consequence was that at the local level there was no recognizable institution under which the various *facultés* could be co-ordinated, that is no universities as such. Another peculiarity of the French system concerned the faculties themselves. Although Medicine and Law were directly concerned with professional training, until comparatively late in the nineteenth century Letters and Sciences served merely as bodies to supervise the examination and teacher-qualification systems for secondary education. In France there was an assumption that advanced general education was the concern of the *lycées* through which boys were taken up to the very threshold of intellectual and cultural maturity. 'Adult education' did go on, but it was scarcely recognized in such terms, and was largely a concern of voluntary associations to promote literacy, technical training, or organized sociability.

From about 1890, and in response to strains within their own higher education system, a number of French intellectuals began to take an interest in the university extension movement now in full flow on the other side of the Channel, and one enquiry was actually sponsored by the French education ministry.[36] Reactions were divided: on one side sceptical dismissal

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of the English practice as internally wasteful and irrelevant to French needs, on the other side enthusiastic interest. It is interesting that the enthusiasts placed their reactions in the context of current demands for the reform of French higher education and the creation of 'real' universities. English experience suggested, so it was argued, that reformed universities would miss a large part of their significance if their members failed to recognize and accept a wider social mission: in other words universities should be set up with the means built in to extend or popularize themselves.

There were sporadic attempts to popularize higher education throughout the 1890s. Robert Michels, presumably thinking back to his own experiences of those years, noted how learned institutes and societies in Paris responded to the enthusiasms of the day, offered public lectures, and made a small dent in the principle of scientific exclusivity.[37] Some knowledge of English adult education was to be found among the people associated with the initiative for a kind of municipal 'open university' in Paris — a move which came in the wake of the Boulanger crisis, and was explicitly intended to promote citizenship and thus reaffirm Republican values. For a time after 1894 the education ministry sanctioned and encouraged public expenditure on general adult education. The law of 1896 setting up provincial universities rekindled interest and there were renewed references to the English example. In one or two provincial centres there were experiments in what was recognizably an attempt to 'extend' newly constituted universities and thereby cultivate good public relations.

The real change came after 1899 with the commotion of the *universités populaires*, stimulated by another national crisis, this time the Dreyfus affair. The oddity, though, was that the French popular universities, dazzlingly active for a few years and sometimes spoken of as part of an international 'popular university' phenomenon, had nothing essentially to do with the university (in either of the French meanings). Moreover, it seems that their originators had never clearly intended to adopt such a title.

The popular university developed out of the work of a printer turned organizer and publicist, George Deherme, and through the encouragement he received from a group of prominent intellectuals. Deherme began as an anarchist and moved towards co-operation: he was thus doubly committed to an educative philosophy. His bourgeois friends, mostly secularist and republican by inclination, and some of them declared Solidarists, were

seeking a remoralization of politics, and social reconciliation through education. In 1896 Deherme began to edit a monthly review called *La Coopération des idées*, which within two years was being presented as a basis for the collaborative study of social questions and for encouraging civic and political education.[38] In an article of March 1898 he described his proposed association as a blend of the Anglo-Saxon inventions of the settlement and university extension — but there were to be indigenous ingredients added: this 'chambre de coopération intellectuelle et morale' was to be as much a social and a family institution celebrating the French virtues of kindness, independence and simplicity.[39]

Deherme's immediate ambition was achieved with the foundation in April 1898 of the 'Coopération des idées pour l'instruction supérieure et l'éducation éthique-sociale du peuple'. It was intended to produce social renewal through co-operation between progressive intellectuals and working people hungry for self-improvement. It soon found numerous imitators in Paris and the provinces, many of them adopting fanciful titles which celebrated their progressive credentials, for example, 'L'Aurore', 'Le Réveil', 'Voltaire' — and which also revealed the very diverse philosophical and political origins of the movement.

Almost instantaneously these bodies became known collectively as the *universités populaires*. It has been suggested that Deherme himself would not have wanted such a title, but that it emerged virtually by chance and then proved too convenient to be dropped.[40] One possibility is that the name was due to Henry Bérenger, a middle-class supporter of the *Coopération des idées*. Since about 1895 he had been enquiring into aspects of adult education, and had hopes of setting up a university extension scheme somewhat on the English pattern in France. In an article of 1897 he described the Paris municipal lecture courses as 'un embryon d'université populaire du soir' and referred also to the practice of adult education in England.[41] It is believed that an anonymous letter published in the January 1898 number of *Coopération des idées* was the first occasion on which the name 'université populaire' was specifically linked to the Deherme venture.

In what sense was the French movement a popularization of the university? It would be simplest to dismiss it as having no connection in principle or in practice. The *UPs*, as they were affectionately known, had no recognition from the public educational system (there were in fact attempts by the

authorities to suppress the use of the name 'university' in connection with private associations). Their middle-class supporters seemed to come as citizens, public figures or propagandists, and not as representatives of the universities. There was no comparison with either the English or the Austrian-German movements. Indeed, Mercier has enthusiastically argued that the *UPs* achieved their distinctive character only after the bourgeois philanthropists found themselves at odds with their clients and departed, leaving French artisans and workers, and their families, free to practise 'une nouvelle sociabilité populaire'.[42]

But that is to neglect the interesting complexities of the case. The French popular universities did have some distinctive concern with 'higher education'. Some of the intellectuals who gave their support were consciously proposing a broader concept of the university; and that was an heretical departure from a central tradition of French education, the belief that higher studies were the culmination of rigorous training in the *lycée*. (A heresy which remained without real impact for another sixty years and more.)

Nevertheless it has to be said that the French movement did not originate in the formal educational system. Its distinguishing feature lay in spontaneity and a sheer confusion of approaches to the idea of knowledge and learning. This can be gauged from Caldwell's and Mercier's accounts of the range of existing activities on which the *UPs* drew. There were Socialist clubs registered with the authorities under the guise of study groups. The Anarchist movement, by nature educative in its methods, was an important recruiting ground. Radical electoral committees, with Freemason and anti-clerical connections, continued to celebrate Enlightenment doctrines and the intellectual basis of the Revolution. There were contributions from progressive bourgeois social philosophers, particularly from Positivists anxious to influence public policy. Philanthropic associations which encouraged self-help and discussion of social issues among the lower orders were drawn in. Support came also from a range of existing social and community activities associated with the movement for secular education.

In the teaching work of the popular universities the broadly positivist and anarchist tendencies were in the forefront. Historians of French adult education agree on the contemporary significance of the popularization of positivist social science: the *UPs* provided one more useful platform for its intellectual advocates, and so they seemed to fulfil one of the functions of

'extension' in the German and Anglo-Saxon countries. But social science had not been much absorbed into the French academic system and many of its advocates remained propagandists; this gave force to the argument that the *UPs* should operate on their own terms and not provide a substitute higher education for working people.[43]

The anarchist strand was a different matter. Deherme demanded completely open discussion and rejection of all imposed intellectual systems. Educational work should be a 'non-aligned, organic social activity', unconditionally open to 'all beliefs, all endeavours, all hearts'; it was permissible to exclude only what cut itself off from the community. From the start his own popular university set the pattern by promoting an enormously eclectic programme. As Caldwell put it, the belief was that education arose from participation, not from being taught, and for anarchists the *UP* was a piece of direct political action. An encyclopaedist mentality demanded 'access to all knowledge, without exception', and the theory of 'circulation of ideas' was offered as a corrective to élitist tendencies. Jacques Bardoux, one of the friends of the movement, described the students as fanatical libertarians.[44]

Despite certain attempts to regularize the curriculum and pedagogy of the *UPs*, the movement was inherently disorderly. Especially in the Paris region the associations had diverse origins and varied constitutional forms; there was none of the fixed method and structure that characterized university extension elsewhere, and indeed defined it in Austria and England. Encyclopaedic, libertarian values provided a (specious) justification for a fragmented educational practice, and the result was what Caldwell has called 'a glorious free-for-all', a glittering piece of 'educational theatre'.[45]

It was this mercurial quality that so dismayed foreign observers. In December 1899 the English *University Extension Journal* carried a note on the rumoured failure of a working men's university in Paris as a result of political disagreements; contrast was drawn with the 'patient force' and the ability to consider deeply-felt matter with 'admirable sobriety of temper' which (it claimed) were so characteristically English.[46] Some years later Kaethe Schirmacher published in the German *Ethische Kultur* an interesting little comparison of popular universities in England and France; she was astonished at the near-chaotic quality of the curriculum in the latter country.[47] Was all this somehow characteristically French? Michels thought it was: looking back from 1921 he pointed to the inability of the popular

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university movement to coalesce in the face of a 'lack of connectedness' and 'natural dispersion of social tendencies' in France.[48]

The other critical issue here is whether the French movement recognized any over-riding notions of objective knowledge or neutrality in education, which might have placed it on a par with comparable movements elsewhere. Yet again the answer seems to be too complicated to yield a straightforward comparison. Certainly the avoidance of bias was preached at the 'official' level; only what excluded was to be excluded and the curriculum must reflect the diversity of life itself. Deherme propagated an 'active concept of neutrality', deriving from the religion of humanity and from intellectual Darwinism.[49] This rhetoric of inclusiveness was also required to hold together the bewildering variety of enthusiasts who thronged to the popular universities—listed by Michels as socialists, anarchists, free-thinkers, left-wing republicans, anti-militarists and anti-clericals, not to mention the cranks and monomaniacs.[50]

Michels noticed the forces threatening this so-called neutrality, but it remained to a much more recent historian to make them a central part of the analysis. Mercier's view is that neutrality was a chimera both in theoretical and practical terms. His theoretical objection is standard in the modern sociology of knowledge and needs no rehearsing here. On the practical side he points to such facts as the horror of the liberal press when Deherme gave platform-space to clerics regarded as being reactionaries. Mercier suggests that there were in fact two positions on the neutrality issue, which related to two competing views of the function of knowledge. Was it to be knowledge for integration, or knowledge for emancipation?

The integrationists represented an abstract, philanthropic tendency, emphasizing universal fraternity based on the development of individual potential. Out of the ferment of ideas would come freedom from prejudice, disinterested culture, and reconciliation, and the *UP* was a kind of rehearsal of the good life. The emancipationists, on the other hand, kept up to the mark by criticisms from the labour movement, argued that knowledge was a means to the collective triumph of the workers over unjust social institutions. For them the *UP* was more like a step along the route to scientific socialism.[51] The conclusion for the purposes of this chapter is that the popular university movement in France was too much the product of a diverse and volatile socio-political situation to be able to adopt any idea of

the nature of knowledge as consensually embedded in existing institutions of learning. In this, again, it differed from the other superficially comparable movements elsewhere in Europe.

This chapter began with Robert Michels' characterizations of drives for 'extension' in several of those other countries. Here it is appropriate to note his account of their French counterpart. The *UPs* derived from a combination of socially orientated groups of literary men, artists, workers, professors and visitors from other countries; the stimuli came from the most varied quarters; idealism and generosity combined with volatility and disorderliness. If the French movement could be subjected to any comparison with what went on elsewhere it was in the fact that it exhibited at its most exaggerated the eclecticism of all 'popular university' movements.[52]

Conclusion: new directions

The 1900s saw a succession of national and international congresses, testifying it would seem to the vigour of the people's university movement in many countries. And yet the various institutions so identified were already approaching terminal decline. It is perhaps an appropriate and significant conclusion that in the four countries used as examples here decline was experienced in quite different ways.

In France the *UPs* simply faded away. On the way to oblivion some turned briefly to technical training or purely recreational activities, or very occasionally transformed themselves into businesses, for example eating-places run on co-operative principles. The nature of their rise and fall well illustrates the historical fact that 'adult education' as understood in German and Anglo-Saxon countries has never been a particularly authentic option in French life.

In both England and Germany-Austria the problem of decline was experienced as competition from 'new directions' which were emerging in adult education. The processes were in many respects comparable, but the end results proved very different. The confrontation of ideas in the German-speaking world can be followed through the series of university extension conferences (the *Volkshochschultage*) which were held biennially from 1904. At the second of these there came a now renowned intervention from Professor Titius of Kiel, who argued that popular education was concerned above all with extending the individual personality, and implied that the

sacred doctrine of neutrality missed the point in a process that was inevitably one of commitment and selection. He added the provocative comment that one-sidedness was the real defence against superficiality.[53]

In 1910 Titius was able to expound his views at length. He spoke of popular education as the acquisition of *Persönlichkeit*, particularly through exposure to different but sincerely held views about the most profound and topical matters. The process could not be restricted to the 'rein intellektuell' (purely intellectual), and emotion and conviction had their claims. In response Ludo Hartmann reasserted the Vienna orthodoxy — that religious and political discourse must be excluded since neither provided a model for exact thinking.[54] The report of this debate gives no indication of overt conflict, yet clearly something important was at stake.

The next VHS Conference, of 1912, does seems to have fallen into disharmony. The Austrian representatives again deplored any attempt to use popular education to shape the *Weltanschauung* of students; Hartmann and Reich denounced what they saw as a turn to vain theorizing when so much practical work remained to be done. Hartmann also openly criticized the new tendency he detected in the journal *Volksbildungsarchiv*. 'Alas', he is reported as saying, 'we are already beginning to erect a kind of metaphysics of popular education.' Against the 'Idealists' he urged the friends of popular education to conduct themselves as 'ganz flache Empiriker, ganz flache Rationalisten' (quite plain empiricists and rationalists).[55]

Subsequently *Volksbildungsarchiv* sponsored a paper debate in which Hartmann took part. The journal's founder and editor, Robert von Erdberg, insisted in his own contribution that the issue was whether popular education could remain neutral or whether the historical situation now required it to generate its own distinctive aims.[56] Erdberg was eventually to be regarded as the presiding genius of the 'new direction' in German adult education; already by 1910 he had begun to question the old 'extensive' approach, and had teamed up with Walter Hofmann, who was similarly challenging established orthodoxy in library management. (It was in fact among the librarians that the 'battle of the tendencies' first broke out.)[57]

In 1929, after extension had virtually disappeared from the German and Austrian adult education scenes, Keilhacker was to argue that Hartmann clung to a doomed principle of 'neutrality' because it was the condition of the acceptance and survival of the particular system with which he had

identified himself.[58] That was true in the sense that Hartmann and his collaborators were concerned above all for a popular education recognized by and connected with the world of institutional higher education. The Austrian movement faded away during the 1920s. In Germany the *Neue Richtung* (which began to assume a clear shape from 1917) and the post-war folk high school movements tended to favour conceptions of adult education which were dissociated from formal higher learning, and had a non-intellectual, sometimes even an anti-intellectual, tendency. The universities in their corporate guise inclined to the view that taking higher education out to the people counted as an unworthy diversion of time and energy. This disjunction was to shape German adult education, and largely excuse the academics from playing any significant part, until quite recent times.

The 'new direction' in England came with the formation of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in 1903 and its collaboration with the universities from 1908 to provide 'tutorial classes' for educationally disadvantaged adults. Although these innovations grew out of university extension and were initially organized under its auspices, the new movement soon worked towards setting itself on an independent footing. Its erstwhile parent began to feel the pinch from two directions, from its own declining vitality as a movement, and from the increasing success of the WEA in winning prestige and resources.[59] There was confrontation and rivalry, but in typical English fashion the unpleasantness was kept under wraps.

University extension, which had begun over thirty years before as a 'political' initiative, had acquired respectability and lost its dynamism. In effect the WEA set about re-politicizing adult education in line with changed social circumstances. But still central to this new alignment was an intention of keeping the universities engaged in the movement; a novel and highly successful form of partnership was devised which ensured just that. Eventually the WEA–university connection was to lose its own special repute and appeal, and to subside into a minor contribution to what had now become known as 'extra-mural studies'. The important point, however, is that it was precisely the compelling early successes of the partnership that preserved a conception of the universities' wider social responsibility and allowed 'university extension' to re-emerge in more up-to-date guise. The 'popular university' of nineteenth-century England did not fade away, and it was not ejected from the higher education system.

References and Notes

1 Robert Michels, 'Frankreich', in L. von Wiese (ed), *Soziologie des Volksbildungswesen* (München/Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1921), 496–497. Michels had personal experience of popular-education work in France and Italy.

2 Tom Steele, Research Fellow in the research programme on intercultural adult education, University of Leeds 1990–92, has produced a chronology and documentation of 'university extension' style activities in Continental Europe and the Nordic countries. See Ch 4 of this volume.

3 Tom Steele, 'Objective knowledge and the precursors of University Extension' (typescript, [1992]). Other interesting possibilities of generalization are suggested by work such as Carl Levy (ed), *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880–1914* (London/New York, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987).

4 The title of a report on a conference called by the Oxford Delegacy for University Extension in 1892.

5 Max Leclerc, *Le Rôle social des universités* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1892); G. H. Palmer, 'Doubts about University Extension', *Atlantic Monthly* 69 (1892), 372.

6 See Edwin Welch, *The Peripatetic University* (Cambridge University Press, 1973); Alon Kadish, *The Oxford Economists in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982), chs 2, 3; see also Kadish, *Historians, Economists, and Economic History* (London/New York, Routledge, 1989).

7 See Melvin Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and his age* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964); Sheila Rowbotham, 'The call to University Extension teaching 1873–1900', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1969), 57–71.

8 Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780–1880* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); and *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (London/New York, Routledge, 1989).

9 Klaus Künzel, 'The missionary dons', *Studies in Adult Education* 7 (1975), 34–52. See also Stuart Marriott, *Extramural Empires: Service and self-interest in English university adult education 1873–1983* (University of Nottingham, Nottingham Studies in the History of Adult Education, 1984).

10 See Richter (1964); Rowbotham (1969); Kadish (1982).

11 James Stuart, *University Extension* (Leeds, Samuel Moxon, 1871), 6–7, 11.

12 Richard G. Moulton, *Address on the University Extension Movement* (Philadelphia, American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, [1890]); E. T. Devine on Shaw in *Oxford University Extension Gazette*, April 1895, 74.

13 Martin Keilhacker, *Das Universitäts-Ausdehnungs-Problem in Deutschland und Deutsch-Oesterreich* (Stuttgart, Verlag Silberburg, 1929), 61.

14 Horst Dräger (ed), *Volksbildung in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert. Band 2* (Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt, 1984), 27–28; Dräger, *Die Gesellschaft für Verbreitung von Volksbildung* (Stuttgart, Ernst Klett Verlag, 1975), 111.

16 Robert von Erdberg, *Fünfzig Jahre freies Volksbildungswesen* (Berlin, 1924), 32.

17 Josef Luitpold Stern, *Wiener Volksbildungswesen* (Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1910), 40; Keilhacker (1929), 35–36. For the English case see Stuart Marriott, *University Extension Lecturers: The organisation of extramural employment in England, 1873–1914* (University of Leeds, Educational Administration and History Monographs, 1985).

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19 Hans Altenhuber, 'Die Wiener Universitätsausdehnung um 1900: ein neues Modell der Volksbildung', *Erziehung und Unterricht* [Vienna] 3 (1987), 163–171.

20 Quoted by Keilhacker (1929), 64.

21 M. E. Sadler, 'German views on University Extension', *University Extension Journal*, July 1897, 131–133.

22 Keilhacker (1929), 59.

23 See for example Wolfgang Krüger (ed), *Wissenschaft, Hochschule und Erwachsenenbildung* (Braunschweig, Georg Westermann, 1982), 19.

24 Erich Schäfer, *Historische Vorläufer der wissenschaftlichen Weiterbildung* (Opladen, Leske und Budrich, 1988), 17–18, 24. Brentano himself, although a champion of workers' self-determination, was nevertheless entirely at odds with Social Democracy.

25 Emil Reich, *Volkstümliche Universitätsbewegung* (Bern, 1897); Dr Himmelbaur, 'Das Volksbildungswesen in Österreich' in E. Schultze and G. Hamdorff (eds), *Archiv für das Volksbildungswesen aller Kulturvölker* (Hamburg, Gutenberg-Verlag, 1907), 200.

26 Günter Fellner, 'Ludo Moritz Hartmann: zwischen Bürgertum und Sozialdemokratie 1848 bis 1918', *Zeitgeschichte* [Salzburg/Vienna] 8 (1980), 83–108.

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28 Fellner (1980), 91.

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31 Fellner (1980). For the complexities of the Austrian intellectual and cultural world of this period see William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An intellectual and social history 1848–1938* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, University of California Press, 1972). For a brief account of the conceptual universe of Mach and his followers see Kevin Mulligan, 'The expression of exactness: Ernst Mach, the Brentanists and the ideal of clarity', in Robert Pynsent (ed), *Decadence and Innovation: Austro-Hungarian life and art at the turn of the century* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 33–42.

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40 Caldwell (1962), 195.

41 Quoted in Caldwell (1962), 211.

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43 Mercier (1986); Caldwell (1962), 324, 365–366.

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46 *University Extension Journal*, December 1899, 34.

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51 Mercier (1986), 89.

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6

University Extension in the United States: the English connection

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'Is there not here the opportunity—the possibility—of a more tight bond arising between the English speaking races throughout the world?'[1] Thus James Stuart, father of university extension in England, addressed an international audience at the University Extension Congress in London in 1894. His optimism is easy to understand. His audience included representatives of the extension movement from the United States, Canada and India as well as Britain and Europe. The previous year the Oxford extension lecturer E. L. S. Horsburgh had returned from a visit to the United States with the report that he had found university extension 'everywhere'. Of the English-speaking nations it was in the United States that the movement seemed to be making the greatest impact. By 1895, extension in one form or another had been established in twenty-eight states of the Union; it was apparently flourishing in North America as it was in England.

This spread of extension, though a relatively new development, could be seen as the natural outcome of various factors, not the least of which were the already well-established traditions of non-formal education in the United States, such as travelling speakers, Lyceums, Chautauquas and correspondence schools. 'America has had peripatetic teaching for generations. It is the classic home of the lecture', Michael Sadler wrote in 1892: 'The novelty of the new movement lies in the *organization* of peripatetic teaching by the *University* instead of by the lecture bureau.'[2]

Other factors less directly related to education were also of great importance. It could be argued that extension 'arrived' at the right moment in the

history of the United States; that the nation was in a position to welcome it with enthusiasm in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A hundred years had passed since the revolution; the United States had established its own individual identity on the world stage. Though the comparative serenity was disrupted by the Civil War, the equilibrium had to a certain extent been restored by the 1880s.

The development of the railroads had well-known implications for the country. Communications were transformed; it was now much easier to travel to the more remote states. The benefits to industry, in the transporting of raw materials and exports, were enormous. Between 1860 and 1914 the population almost trebled—from 31.3 million to 91.9 million—and the rate of production increased by 2,000 per cent. By the end of the century the United States was competing with Britain and Germany for the role of leading industrial nation and was to surpass both in the production of iron, coal, oil, copper and silver by the outbreak of the First World War.

This industrial development was sufficiently advanced by the 1880s to allow individuals time for pursuits other than work; the demands for education were thus becoming more pronounced. The densely populated areas of the states on the eastern seaboard provided a natural and receptive audience, while the railroad links meant that even more isolated communities could be reached by lecturers.

The English connection

It is apparent that the English idea of university extension was welcomed by many Americans living in the eastern states and in Chicago, those belonging to white middle-class America, who, while not necessarily truly representative of the citizens of the United States as a whole, were undoubtedly among the most influential. This enthusiasm was reflected in the attitude of this section of American society towards other aspects of British life. The explanation may lie partly in the common heritage to which some Americans were beginning to lay claim—the shared language and literature, for example. Perhaps too there was a sense in which the influx of immigrants from other non-English speaking countries encouraged this group to draw in on itself, while looking to Britain to preserve and strengthen its traditional

culture. The American lecturer E. T. Devine referred to a course on English history given in the United States as a means of illustrating 'the essential unity of the English speaking race'. He was prepared to go further: 'there was a common origin, there are no doubt separate tasks, but there is also a common destiny for [the] English races in the civilization of the earth.'[3]

In 1905 Horsburgh commented that Americans were 'animated by kindlier feelings towards Great Britain than at any period probably for a century'.[4] He believed this to be due to the fact that 'Great Britain treated [the Americans] well in the matter of the Spanish–American war; because we did what we could to secure them a free hand in settling their quarrel.' It is difficult to judge how valid this opinion may be and whether Horsburgh was actually quoting from American acquaintances. It would seem, however, that improved relations can be partially attributed to the *rapprochement* on foreign affairs which had begun in the last years of the nineteenth century. Britain, for example, agreed to the American demands for mediation in a border dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana and compromise was agreed over the Panama Canal. Britain, embroiled in the scramble for Africa in the last decades of the century, was perhaps more wary of European rivals than of its former colony. The United States, though pursuing its own expansionist policies, was less concerned with the spheres of influence claimed by the European powers than with Central America and the Pacific and was consequently perceived as less threatening to British interests. In these years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War there was of course mounting concern in Britain over the increase in German power and the development of naval rivalry and the arms race between the two countries.

The links between Britain and the United States forged by particular individuals who believed in the idea of university extension did a great deal to promote the movement. The two-way traffic of lecturers across the Atlantic during this period was extremely important. It seems to have been accepted that each country was indebted to the other. 'The idea of taking the University to the people is English, that of bringing the people together into a vacation University is American', wrote Sadler and H. J. Mackinder in 1891:

> We in England owe the conception of our summer meetings to Chautauqua and we note, therefore, with the greatest pleasure the generosity with which our

> American friends seize every opportunity of tracing the local lecture system to its first home in our island.[5]

These views were reiterated frequently on both sides. To what extent an 'affinity' existed between sections of the community in both countries remains difficult to establish, though some believed in it very strongly. The clergyman and lecturer T. J. Lawrence 'could not help' quoting the American poet Whittier to the 1894 Congress:

> Thicker than water, in one rill
> Through centuries of story
> Our Saxon blood had flowed, and still
> We share with you its good and ill,
> The shadow and the glory.

'Might not the Movement do a great deal to bring together in heart and mind the scattered branches of the great Anglo-Saxon race?' he asked, in a robust echo of Stuart's sentiments: 'Might it not do something more, and become a veritable Republic of Letters, knowing no difference of latitude or longitude, ignoring the boundaries of countries, of blood, and of isolation?'[6]

In order to establish whether university extension did in fact fulfil this grandiose ambition, examples of the various strands in its development in the United States should be considered. New York, Wisconsin and Chicago are each to be remembered for different contributions in this field, as is the work organized from Philadelphia, while experiments in California illustrate three differing responses to the idea of university extension.

University extension in the State of New York

There can be no doubt that university extension in the State of New York was influenced by developments in England, as seen through the eyes of American visitors. In 1876 Daniel Coit Gilman presented a series of popular lectures in Johns Hopkins University. Gilman, formerly President of the University of California, played an influential role in the development of university extension in the United States and had been to England. Similar lectures were organized during the next few years, including a series at working men's institutes. Another academic from Johns Hopkins, Herbert Baxter Adams, was also a visitor to England. In 1887 he presented the

American Library Association with a description of the English university extension movement, explaining his belief that part of a librarian's duty was to teach the public how and what to read and that university extension was the ideal vehicle to put this into practice.[7] This resulted in the organization of what is generally regarded as the first extension course in the United States, at Buffalo, under the supervision of the public library. The course consisted of twelve lectures on economics by E. W. Bemis. Audiences of 200–250 were reported, consisting of 'working men, business men, professional men, ladies and school pupils'.[8]

Discussions were held in Brooklyn on how to combine aspects of the English extension methods and the methods used by Chautauqua. More significant perhaps was the claim of New York State to be the first in the world to make university extension an integral part of its educational system. This, it could be argued, was facilitated by the peculiar federal organization of the University of the State of New York which at the time consisted of 396 schools and academies, thirty-two colleges of arts and science and fifty technical and professional schools.

The impetus for innovation was provided by a librarian, the famous Melvil Dewey, who, as chief librarian of Columbia College, first raised the subject of university extension at the annual university convocation in July 1888. The following year, now Secretary of the state university, he reiterated his arguments in 'an epoch-making speech'.[9] As a result of his efforts, it was eventually agreed—in 1891—that a department of university extension should be set up and application was made for state aid. Helped by support in the local press, 'the result was an unanimity of opinion quite unusual in matters of state appropriation'.[10] The bill was passed and thus the first university extension law was enacted: to provide for, promote, more widely extend to and bring within the reach of the people at large, adults as well as youth, opportunities and facilities for education'.[11] The university was awarded $10,000 for organizational expenses; it was not to be used for lecturers' fees, which were to be met locally. Despite this, J. Russell Parsons, representative of the university at the 1894 Congress, explained how the word 'university' itself 'stirred up considerable popular prejudice in the United States which hindered the inflow of assistance from public funds'. To a large extent the University of New York was identified with the state; institutions such as museums and the library were incorporated with it.[12]

On reporting that New York had provided for a state system of university extension, H. B. Adams remarked with satisfaction, 'Americans have already advanced one step further than the mother country.'[13] The state extension movement got off to a good start, with fourteen courses during the winter of 1893, including one on Roman life 'illustrated by the lantern' which proved to be so popular that alternative premises had to be found.[14] Another course of particular note, held in Batavia, included a large number of blind students, of whom twenty-five submitted weekly written papers and three passed the examination with honours. Successful as the New York movement was, it was soon to be overtaken by the activities in a neighbouring state.

University extension in Philadelphia

Close links between individuals involved in university extension on both sides of the Atlantic were of particular importance in the development of the movement which had Philadelphia as its headquarters. In addition to visits by representatives from Philadelphia to Britain, British lecturers played a prominent role in Philadelphia. This was emphasized in an article by Anne Earle, an American university extension student who was awarded a scholarship to the Oxford summer meeting of August 1894:

> The greatest impetus [...] was given during 1890 and the years following, by the presence and enthusiasm of able and distinguished men from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who, not only by their lectures, but by their thorough acquaintance with every phase of the movement in England, did much to assist it in America.[15]

She referred to visits by R. G. Moulton, M. E. Sadler, H. G. Mackinder, W. Hudson Shaw and J. Churton Collins, and in addition believed that the success of the movement in Philadelphia could be attributed to the efficiency with which it had been organized in Britain, enabling the 'system' to be transferred there. Philadelphia was also fortunate in its proximity to 'colleges of the highest rank' from which lecturers could be called upon.

Extension in Philadelphia was undoubtedly influenced by the *Report of the University Extension Movement in England* which was drawn up by George Henderson in 1890 following a visit to Britain. Henderson was secretary of the newly-founded Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, of which William Pepper, Provost of the University of

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Pennsylvania, was president and Frederick B. Miles was treasurer. It was decided that to cope with the increasing demands for assistance from across the United States a national association would be more appropriate; in December 1890 the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching (ASEUT) was founded, with the former Philadelphia Society as its first branch.

Ten years later the ASEUT acknowledged the part played by the Cambridge lecturer, R. G. Moulton:

> In 1890 Richard Green Moulton came to Philadelphia, informed as to all that had been done in England and inspired by a consciousness of the potential force contained in the new educational idea. The response to the appeal contained in his lectures was prompt and generous. The American Society was founded.[16]

Moulton in turn paid tribute to 'that warm hospitality which Philadelphia understands [...] better than any city' which had allowed him to work in 'laying the foundation of the university extension movement' in the United States.[17]

According to Moulton's philosophy, university extension was the third example of enabling the public at large to become involved in what had formerly been the preserve of an élite: 'the three great movements in the making of modern life'. The first step had been the Reformation, which gave the people access to religion. The second was the great political revolution when the mass came to think for themselves about politics—previously only 'the governing classes thought upon political subjects'. As to the third, he believed that university extension was bringing education within everyone's reach: 'Education is not a thing for youth only, nor is it a thing for the favored classes only, but it belongs to all men and all periods of life.'[18]

The first Philadelphia class opened in Roxborough, a suburb of the city, in November 1890. This course on chemistry was followed by others on literature, mathematics and history. In the first session more than forty courses were organized. In 1891 the first ASEUT annual conference was held in Philadelphia with Michael Sadler amongst the speakers. Following his return home the 'Michael E. Sadler Reading Class' was set up in his honour. The next year American visitors to the Oxford summer meeting included Edmund J. James, H. W. Rolfe and Edward T. Devine. Devine's work had so impressed Sadler that he had personally invited him to lecture at Oxford.

During the 1892/93 academic session, a seminary was founded under the

direction of Edmund J. James for the training of workers in the extension movement. This was a new departure of some significance. Among the tutors was W. Hudson Shaw of Oxford, who proved to be one of the most popular and successful English lecturers to visit America, his method being described as that of 'the teacher, of the warm friend, yet also that of the preacher and leader of men'.[19] The seminary was run in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania and included courses on the science of education, educational administration, the formation and maintenance of local centres and the place and function of university extension in American education. Significantly, in addition to a course on the history of the development of the university extension movement in the United States, there was one on the history of the origin and development of the movement in England, 'with special attention to the details of the work and its lessons for us'.[20]

Each student had to demonstrate his or her ability to prepare a course of lectures. It was thought that some students might be able to use what they earned from teaching towards their expenses and that some might simultaneously take a postgraduate course in a 'nearby institution' such as the University of Pennsylvania. Certificates were awarded to successful students on completion of the course. The absence of a similar system of training in Britain—despite prolonged discussion about the desirability of such a scheme—was attributed to a lack of candidates and the comparative neglect of educational training for secondary teachers.[21]

Representatives of the ASEUT—H. W. Rolfe, F. B. Miles and J. G. Rosengarten—attended the University Extension Congress in London in 1894. There it was reported that during the 1892/93 session 107 short courses had been provided by Philadelphia; the following year there had been 110. The corresponding figures given for Oxford were 151 and 149, and for Cambridge 78 and 33 respectively. In contrast, only one course of ten or more lectures had been held in the 1892/93 session under Philadelphia auspices and none in the following session, whereas Oxford had provided 87 and 74 and Cambridge 233 and 104. In the Philadelphia system, the six lecture course 'preponderated'.[22] The ASEUT claimed in its ten-year report that courses had been organized for all sections of society:

> there is no class for which university extension is not intended nor to which it has not ministered. There have been courses, not a few but many, to audiences made up entirely of the very poor, of the poor, of the poor and of those who are

> not rich, of these and of the well to do; of the ignorant but eager, of the cultivated but not learned, of teachers; we might almost say—having in mind the summer meetings—of scholars, finally of people of all conditions who have some leisure for study or reading [...].[23]

The decade 1890–1900 has been seen as the heyday of extension for Philadelphia and the ASEUT, though the society continued to exist until 1916. It was represented by several leading figures at the third international congress of higher education in Paris, 1900: F. B. Miles, W. C. Douglas, T. H. Ely, T. W. Surette and C. A. Brinley.

University extension in Chicago

Though undoubtedly influenced by the English movement, university extension in Chicago did not rigidly follow the English pattern. The movement in Chicago was seen by one contemporary observer as 'the pedagogic high water mark of university extension in the world'.[24]

Although some work was done initially by W. F. Poole, a librarian 'inspired' by Adams, the development of university extension in Chicago was largely due to the influence of two men, the American, William Rainey Harper and the Englishman, R. G. Moulton. Harper was President of the University of Chicago from its opening in October 1892; his belief in the importance of university extension was such that the furtherance of it was one of the conditions under which he accepted the presidency. He was a prominent figure in the Chautauqua movement and summer school organizer and pioneer of correspondence education. He was a renowned Hebraist, acknowledging that he had been influenced by Moulton's work on Biblical studies. His appointment of Moulton was to a large extent responsible for the particular manner in which university extension developed in Chicago.

The Chicago Society for the Extension of University Teaching was founded in 1891, with Charles Zueblin as Secretary. With the appointment of Harper, however, the society's work was overtaken by events and it was disbanded the following year.

Harper believed that university extension should have equal status with other departments within the University. It was also decided that the academic year should be divided into four terms, not the customary three, so that with shorter vacations, more work could be completed. Classes were

also run in the evenings and on Saturday mornings. George Henderson, now director of the university extension division, explained the Chicago system in a letter to James Stuart: as far as achieving 'the time when the highest education shall be within the easy physical reach of every man and woman', he believed a lot depended on better organization of the universities themselves: 'The organization of the University of Chicago is a long stride in advance of anything in this country in that line [...] I would [...] call your attention to the short concentrated units in which the work has been organized and to the fact that students matriculate four times a year.'[25]

On 2 October 1892, Moulton delivered the inaugural lecture on the opening of the new extension division. It has been estimated that between October and December of that year 15,000 students attended lectures organized by the Chicago division; centres were set up in an area extending 'from Detroit to the Mississippi, from Milwaukee to Quincy'. In the 1892/93 session seventy-nine courses of six lectures were organized and six of twelve lectures.[26]

Chicago also pioneered the system of university credits:

> Chicago makes a great feature of Classwork conducted in precisely the same way as in the class rooms of the university. In 1892–93 and 1893–94 no less than thirty-six classes were so conducted and the students who attended regularly and passed certain tests received 'University Credit'.[27]

Such credits were counted towards a degree, but not more than half the work for a Bachelor's degree could be completed in this way. University credits could similarly be obtained for 'satisfactory performances' in correspondence work. However, Professor Nathaniel Butler, secretary in charge of lecture study at Chicago, 'begged leave to say' at the 1894 congress that the 'chief motive' of university extension at Chicago was not found in this work, but in 'supplying the needs of intelligent young and middle-age men and women who desire broader and definite instruction in the various fields of Literature, History and Science'.[28] These people generally were interested in learning for their own satisfaction rather than to obtain credits or take examinations.

Among the students attending a class run by William H. Mace on American history in Springfield, were lawyers, doctors, clergymen and Members of Congress — perhaps not as wide a cross-section as some would have hoped.[29] Mace too had visited Britain, and had lectured at the

Cambridge summer meetings in 1890 and 1893. The correspondence division which Harper had also set up attracted a much wider range of students, including 'an Arizona ranchman studying Arabic and a Hawaiian schoolmaster who seeks to master Sanskrit'.[30] The courses attracted students from across the globe — from Canada and Mexico to the Sandwich Isles, Germany, Britain and Japan.

The list of successes reported by the extension division ten years later did not consist of academic achievements alone.[31] The division had, it was claimed, helped reduce prejudice between 'the people' and colleges and universities and had stimulated 'scores of young men and women [to] establish more intimate connection with the university'. It had been responsible for the building of libraries, and had promoted the improvement of schools, parks and streets. It had demonstrated that there were in 'a large number of local communities a few earnest people [...] willing to work for the establishment of local institutions [...] and broaden culture'. It had been shown that the lecturer was the crux of the situation. The 1902/03 academic session was seen as the high-water mark of the department's development since its inauguration in 1892, with courses being run in eighteen states.

University extension in the State of Wisconsin

In the early days of university extension in Wisconsin efforts were made to emulate the English system, though the outcome — the 'Wisconsin idea' — seems somewhat removed from the original concept.

In 1885 the first Farmers' Institute was held in Wisconsin. By the winter of 1887/88, eighty-one institutes had been established and, it has been claimed, attracted as many as 50,000 farmers.[32] The first Wisconsin summer school for teachers was also held in 1885; this was to be an annual event until the end of the century, when it was combined with the 'summer session'. Thomas C. Chamberlin, whose election as President of the University took effect in 1887, attempted to establish mechanics' institutes; although he did not succeed at the time, the ideas was revived ten years later in the form of summer schools organized by the university's engineering department.

Chamberlin was one of the first to recognize the potential for a similar development to 'the lecture system known in England as University Extension'.[33] Between 1888 and 1891 he and other members of the university staff

gave courses of free lectures at the Contemporary Club in Madison and elsewhere. In 1891 H. B. Adams was invited to address the Wisconsin Historical Society and agreed to use the occasion to stress the importance of university extension. In so doing he described the movement in England and referred to its 'adaptation by Chautauqua and some of the eastern institutions'.[34] The same year the University Regents agreed to the introduction of 'University Extension lectures on the English plan'.[35]

Ten courses each of six lectures were provided initially; certificates were issued to students passing an end-of-course examination and completing the necessary reading. The extension idea proved so popular that the demand exceeded supply in the first session. In the following years the number of courses and students fluctuated, the 1895/96 session being a particularly successful one. By contrast, the following session marked the beginning of a fall in numbers. This was attributed to various causes: the 'novelty' had worn off and there was a general decline in extension in this period. Chamberlin himself had said from the first that the demands on a lecturer's time and energy would cause problems; the fact that some of the ablest professors had left extension work seemed to uphold this view.

The election of Charles R. Van Hise as President in 1903 proved to be a significant one in the development of university extension at Wisconsin. Van Hise was well known for his definite views on the role of a state university: 'I shall never be content until the beneficent influence of the University reaches every family in the State.'[36] Members of the staff of the Free Library Commission therefore attempted to persuade him to revive the university extension service. By 1908, under the directorship of Dean Reber, this had been done. The extension division was divided into four sections: correspondence study, instruction by lectures, debating and public discussion, and general information and welfare. At the same time the agricultural college extension service, for which Wisconsin became particularly renowned, was developing in parallel, concentrating on informing farmers about the best agricultural methods. The vocational education law of 1911, with its requirement that cities with populations of 5,000 or more must provide vocational or continuation schools, left the extension division free to provide more courses for university credit.

En route for the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held in London in 1912, Dr Barrett of Melbourne spent two days at 'that remarkable

experimental university, Wisconsin [...] where the extension movement has been pushed on a scale and to a degree hitherto unknown in any portion of the globe'. He was particularly impressed by several factors. 'The state will vote any reasonable sums of money wanted', £25,000 being spent annually. A staff of thirty-one clerks were employed. The facilities were such that 'any citizen who wants a book has only to write to the extension department and he gets it by paying the cost of transit one way'. As well as encouraging students to spend four, six or eight weeks at the university during the summer months, officers were sent from the agriculture department to give on-the-spot advice to farmers with soil analysis, herd inspection and so on. 'I was informed that the provision of lectures at the University was not enough [...] it was personal contact with the men living in their own districts which was essential.' Significantly, 'the British idea of the extension lecturer as an inferior University officer is a mistake.' He concluded that 'all that has been done in Wisconsin has been based on the central idea of making the lives of the people better and more useful.'[57]

University extension in California

Unlike other American universities, California was, at least initially, determined not to follow the English example, or indeed any other. It is perhaps an indication of the perceived importance of existing developments that members of the university felt it necessary to state this deliberate rejection of such influence.

It has been suggested that evening classes began as early as 1856 in California and that they were being run in Los Angeles in 1887, but the details remain unclear.[58] The Academic Council officially approved the giving of extension lectures in San Francisco and in cities near the university in 1891. In the 1892/93 session, the university provided seven lecture courses; three in Oakland, three in San Francisco and one in Los Angeles. In an article in the American journal *University Extension* in February 1893, Professor C. M. Gayley expressed his belief that extension in California attracted 'peculiar interest' owing to the fact that the system was the outcome 'not of imitation of other Extension systems, but of experience'. It was decided from the outset that the scope and quality of extension work should be 'distinctly of university grade' and therefore each course would consist of

sixteen or eighteen lectures—to match half-year courses run intra-murally. Lectures would be given only by regular university lecturers and would be free. Gayley claimed that the 'the California extension course will not be measured by popularity, but by its academic quality'.[39] Unfortunately this academic quality was not sufficient to guarantee its success. By 1898 extension had apparently failed in California and Gayley discontinued his association with the idea.

The following year Benjamin Ide Wheeler was inaugurated as President of the University and the next phase in the history of Californian extension began. Wheeler was determined to appoint his friend Henry Morse Stephens to his staff, but, unable to justify a full time post in the department of history as he would have wished, he saw a joint appointment with extension as the answer. Stephens, an *émigré* Englishman, formerly librarian to the Leeds Library and an Oxford extension lecturer, had also given public lectures during his time as a professor at Cornell. On his first visit to the university of California in 1900, he made a speech on university extension in England and later claimed, 'I am longing to try my hand at a great extension scheme on the Oxford line [...] I know I can do it and make a success of it.'[40] The extension department was set up in 1902.

Following the English idea, organization was to be carried out through local centres; a printed syllabus was to be prepared for each twelve-lecture course and each lecture was to be followed by a study class. Stephens sent two members of his staff, G. M. Branden and C. H. Parker, to England for training in extension work. During the session 1904/05 the university offered courses at thirteen centres; this however, proved to be the high point of its success. Despite Stephens' resolution to retire into the background once the initial groundwork had been completed it appears that his personal popularity was greater than that of the movement as a whole, with some centres deferring the organization of a course if he was not available to run it personally. By 1908/09 the number of centres had fallen to seven. The following year, when Stephens had retired from extension work, only four centres were in operation.

The third phase in the history of extension at California was marked by the appointment of Ira Woods Howerth as Director of Extension in 1912. Howerth, a former extension lecturer at the University of Chicago, believed the purpose of extension was 'to extend the usefulness of the University to

the general public in every practicable manner'[41] and the means to achieve this was to follow the example set by Wisconsin. Vocational programmes were offered in accordance with his philosophy that courses should help people 'to a higher degree of industrial efficiency and a fuller pay envelope'.[42] Other attempts to adopt Wisconsin's methods, such as the introduction of public debates and discussions and an information and social welfare section proved only of limited success. The public lectures which Howerth had hoped to promote to encourage members of the public to undertake more serious study in the fields of literature, history and science were hindered by insufficient funding. The total funding provided for extension was only a fraction of that at Wisconsin and consequently California was never able to achieve the same degree of success.

Thus by 1914 the University of California had tried three different systems of extension, none of which, including the one based on the 'Oxford line', proved to be a long-term success.

Conclusion

In a society as disparate and far-flung as that of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century it was perhaps inevitable that a movement such as university extension would develop in a variety of directions. While it is apparent that several influences played a part, the claim that 'the history of university extension in the United States is a history of institutional borrowing [from England], acclimatization, and elaboration of the acclimated idea'[43] would seem to be well-founded, particularly in the case of the universities of New York and Chicago, and in the work of the ASEUT.

Some contemporary observers warned against the emulation of British methods, believing them to be unsuited to the United States.[44] More recently it has been argued, for example, that in appointing Moulton in Chicago Harper misread the need for 'acclimatization'.[45] The belief that university extension in the United States failed because it was 'too English' is however, difficult to substantiate. It is true that when Wisconsin had adapted extension to its own needs it achieved an impressive level of success, yet it must be remembered that in addition to the agricultural and vocational courses for which it became famous, it continued to run courses of lectures of a more 'traditional' type. It is easy too to apply a very narrow definition

as to what constituted English university extension, to overlook the fact that its association with these traditional subjects did not preclude a much wider range of subjects being taught in certain cases — the courses in agriculture at Leeds, for example, the involvement in technical education by Oxford and Cambridge between 1891 and 1893, and the adaptation of extension courses to the needs of teacher training. The path followed by English university extension was not sacred or pre-ordained.

Perhaps, after all, the reasons university extension in the United States faltered are those suggested by H. B. Adams at the turn of the century: the lack of suitable extension lecturers; the lack of financial support; the vast distances to be traversed by university teachers already overworked; the necessity and greater importance of academic service on college and university premises; the recognition of better and less expensive instruments of popular education.[46] The importance of this contemporary viewpoint should not be dismissed. It is interesting also to consider how many of the reasons given may be seen as contributing to the falling interest in university extension on the other side of the Atlantic.

In conclusion, it may well be that, as far as the United States is concerned, rather than university extension improving international relations, as Stuart and Lawrence had hoped, it was the international connections which fostered the movement.

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7

Ruskin and Morris in the Netherlands: an exploratory study of their influence on Dutch adult education

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Why is this glorious creature to be found
One only in ten thousand? What one is,
Why may not millions be? What bars are thrown
By nature in the way of such a hope?

William Wordsworth 1770–1850

In the Netherlands, the various links between adult education and art have barely been subjected to theoretical and historical scrutiny. In this connection, the names of John Ruskin and William Morris are sometimes mentioned, but their influence has never been properly studied within the context of adult education. The available literature stems mostly from the field of art history in which, understandably, the perspective of adult education is often absent. From a methodological point of view, therefore, this chapter may be seen as the outcome of an exploratory study by means of a bibliographical survey (Selltiz and others 1959: 53).

The first section offers a sketch of the social, cultural and educational climate in Great Britain after the Industrial Revolution. The following two parts deal with the ideas and activities of Ruskin and Morris. Then follows a brief characterization of the *fin de siècle* period in the Netherlands. Finally, the influence which Ruskin and Morris exerted in the multifaceted area of Dutch adult education is examined.

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Great Britain after the Industrial Revolution

The 'Industrial Revolution', a term coined in France in 1838 and later popularized by the English economic historian Arnold Toynbee, coincided in Britain with the reign of George III (1760–1820). During this period, large parts of the landscape were transformed; at the same time, the population almost doubled, and became predominantly urban. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, London had over a million inhabitants; every day there were three hundred new arrivals (Trevelyan 1974: 711; Arkell 1973: 82–83).

Victorian times, from 1837, saw the rise of economic liberalism and its accompanying individualism. Increasing divisions between rich and poor threatened to bring about Disraeli's 'two nations'. One reaction took the form of a nostalgia for the Middle Ages and their supposed sense of community. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, an outburst of voluntary work tried to soften the dire consequences for the poor of *laissez-faire* capitalism. From Britain, the Industrial Revolution spread over the rest of the world. As a result, the country where its effects were the harshest, and protest the most outspoken, became a social laboratory for many other modernizing nations.

Prominent among critics of industrialism was Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). His 'prophetic voice, crying out with clarity amidst the apparent confusion of an age of change' challenged the ideology of utilitarianism in which the machine ruled over men (Shelston 1980: 7). In his view, the writings of Malthus and Ricardo had turned the moral philosophy of Adam Smith into the 'dismal science' of a liberal market economy. For Carlyle, poverty was not the main problem of his age; rather, it was the lack of contact between the rich and the poor, which allowed urban industrialism to dehumanize social relations (Himmelfarb 1984: 12, 528).

Influenced by German Romanticism, Carlyle preached the uniqueness of every human being, while idealizing a supposed medieval, monastic sense of community. He was not only anti-liberal, but also, as a worshipper of heroes and strong leadership, notoriously anti-democratic. Nevertheless, his fierce stand against the dominating 'cash nexus' won the admiration of even left-wing opponents. Carlyle was not a social reformer, but a social critic for whom the dignity of 'work', not the individual worker, was the central

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consideration (Himmelfarb 1984: 203). In his day, the term 'socialism' in English was used loosely, and anybody might be considered a 'socialist' who was concerned with the 'social problem' or advocated some form of state intervention (Himmelfarb 1991: 309). Carlyle can be seen as the typical representative of the 'feudal socialism' so memorably portrayed by Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*: 'Half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.' (Marx and Engels 1985: 106)

The Christian Socialists formed another branch of the extended 'socialist' family; their movement emerged immediately after the failure of the Chartist agitation in the revolutionary year of 1848, as a new attempt to improve the conditions of the working class. Its leaders included J. M. Ludlow (1821–1911), F. D. Maurice (1805–1872) and C. Kingsley (1819–1875). Ludlow was a barrister who, under the influence of Fourier and Blanc, was an authority on the progress of Continental socialism. Maurice followed a capricious career as journalist, clergyman and theologian; his unorthodox views cost him one professorship, at King's College, London, but did not prevent his eventual appointment to a chair at Cambridge. Kingsley was a novelist, academic historian and clergyman, serving eventually as chaplain to Queen Victoria (Styler 1968: 13; Himmelfarb 1991: 335–337).

Christian Socialism aimed to Christianize society and socialize the church. It was, in its turn, savagely attacked by Marx and Engels (1985: 108) as 'the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat'. For them it posed an even greater threat than the complaints of social critics such as Carlyle: militant members of the working class had gone over to this mainly middle-class movement which aimed at social reform in a pragmatic, although sometimes naïve, way.

One of the practical results of Christian Socialism was the foundation of the London Working Men's College in 1854. After he was dismissed from his professorship of theology at King's College, Maurice became its first Principal. During a meeting of the Workers' Educational Association in 1907, a glowing tribute was paid to 'that great group of social reformers [...] who for the first time touched the older English Universities with some sense

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of the direct personal responsibility for the adult education of the workers' (Jepson 1973: 52).

The economic historian Arnold Toynbee (1852–1883), popularizer of the term 'Industrial Revolution', built on the doctrines of Christian Socialism. To his friends he was the 'Apostle Arnold', because of his prophetic qualities (Pimlott 1935: 22). Alongside his academic work at Oxford, he gave lectures to working men, driven to social activism by intense feelings of guilt. At the end of his last lecture in 1883 he asked the poor for forgiveness and left the hall in a state of nervous collapse (Himmelfarb 1991: 235–236); he died two months later. According to Mallon (1930: 27) 'he burnt himself up in his ardour for social justice'. Toynbee was, however, above all concerned with social harmony rather than with economic equality.

The memory of Toynbee inspired S. A. Barnett (1844–1913), a clergyman in a dingy, working-class neighbourhood of east London, to press ahead with founding a 'university settlement' in his parish. Intended as a residential centre where university men could engage in social work, it was named Toynbee Hall and opened on Christmas Eve 1884. Its architecture was intended to resemble that of a medieval Oxford college, and a similarity was even detected between the new Toynbee settlers and the early Franciscan friars (Pimlott 1935: 64). Barnett's 'practicable socialism' did not preach a redistribution of income either. It was his intention that Toynbee Hall should provide education through social contact (Woodroofe 1974: 67).

For the architect A. W. Pugin (1812–1852), the dramatic expansion of cities and factories during the nineteenth century had been accompanied by a deterioration of taste. The *nouveaux riches* had enjoyed little aesthetic education. Brash individualism had tempted architects into a variety of neo-styles from 'neo-Greek' to 'old-English', often facile imitations of past accomplishments. Urban expansion had also led to an increase in church building, where 'neo-Gothic' was the preferred style (Pevsner 1964: 376; Poulson 1989: 35).

The Romantic movement of Continental Europe associated the Middle Ages with an ideal of Christian civilization; the Gothic was seen as the expression of the harmony of work and religion. In England, Pugin transformed this view into a moral theory of architecture. The Renaissance had corrupted church and society, and the 'neo-styles' were a sign of continuing decline. Not superficial imitation, but only a return to the

original Gothic approach through historical study could restore the necessary relation between honest craftsmanship and sincere belief. In his book *Contrasts* (1836) Pugin juxtaposed 'noble edifices of the Middle Ages and corresponding buildings of the present day', illustrating the 'decay of taste' resulting from the onslaught of the Industrial Revolution (Pugin 1969; Pevsner 1964: 381; Hewison 1976: 129). As a Roman Catholic convert, he believed any architectural revival must be part of a religious and ethical rebirth (Williams 1982: 138).

At the same time the Anglo-Catholic 'Oxford Movement' demanded a liturgical and moral restoration within the Anglican Church. Led by J. H. Newman (1801–1890) among others, it sought to reinstate the old ceremonial lustre and education of the poor. After its failure, Newman became a Roman Catholic priest and later even a cardinal. His spiritual autobiography *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864) contributed to bridging the gulf between Anglicans and Catholics (Peterson 1986: 97).

The group of artists who in 1848 formed the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had strong connections with the Oxford Movement, and the religious symbolism of the early paintings of D. G. Rossetti (1828–1882) and J. E. Millais (1829–1896) had much in common with the spirit of the Anglican High Church revival (Whiteley 1989: 9). The Brotherhood shared Pugin's view that the art of the Gothic had been corrupted by the Renaissance; the classicism of the School of Raphael had become, in their view, a mere emphasis on form, on technical perfection at the expense of 'truth'. As a matter of fact, the Pre-Raphaelites had little real knowledge of art history, even of their adopted heroes from before Raphael's time.

In their opposition to the dominant academic art of their day, they risked being excluded from the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy, the only way for an artist to come in contact with the public. The formation of a 'Brotherhood' marked not just a response to the fear of isolation, but also a longing for a true community (Vaughan 1978: 25; Hilton 1989: 32).

After a first Romantic period, with its yearning for an uncorrupted past, the Pre-Raphaelites embraced a more realistic approach to contemporary problems (Hilton 1989: 84). Their paintings became imbued with the Victorian work ethic. A perfect expression of this new direction is to be found in the painting called 'Work' by F. Madox Brown, a close associate of the Brotherhood. Its theme is the division of labour in a industrialized

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society. Those who perform physical tasks are located in the middle of the painting. At the right-hand side Carlyle and Maurice appear, representing intellectual labour. On the left are those who, for various reasons, do not know the meaning of work, from beggars to rich men and married ladies; on a wall behind this group is a poster of the Working Men's College. At this college Rossetti worked as a voluntary teacher of adults (Rose 1981: 41).

John Ruskin: critic of art and society

According to Hilton, who cannot be accused of inclining towards extravagant praise, John Ruskin (1819–1900) 'was not only England's greatest art critic, but the greatest of its great Victorians, the most sagacious of its sages, the most powerful and original thinker of the nineteenth century' (Hilton 1989: 10). Ruskin's deeply religious mother had given him an Evangelical education; his father, a wealthy partner in a sherry importing firm, taught him the principles of High Tory paternalism (Wilmer 1985: 22–23).

Ruskin, a talented draughtsman and writer, started his career as an art theorist and critic; in fact, he was the first Englishman to make of his art criticism an art in its own right (Bell 1978: 142). True to his Evangelical upbringing, he believed that God showed his presence in nature, and that Nature, a second book of divine revelation, held another form of God's message to the world. In consequence, it was the artist's duty to represent nature faithfully (Wilmer 1985: 10). For Ruskin, the poet who excelled at this task was Wordsworth; in the art of painting it was Turner. The five volumes of *Modern Painters*, published between 1843 and 1860, have 'truth to nature' as their central theme and Turner as their chief hero.

For Ruskin, the purpose of art was to reveal the Platonic 'ideas' of beauty and truth. He disliked, for example, Dutch genre painting because of its materialistic realism which did not unveil the ultimate 'essence' (Williams 1982: 142; Wilmer 1985: 11). This artistic point of view had ethical implications: if the main criterion of great art is truth, then 'inferior art is bad, because it is false. Good taste, therefore, is a moral quality.' (Wilmer 1985: 9) In this way, morality became aesthetical and art ethical. The next step was the 'socialization' of this theory.

Under Pugin's influence, Ruskin preferred the 'natural' forms of the

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medieval Gothic, the art of a true Christian civilization, to the Renaissance which had through classicism reverted to the pagan past. The medieval craftsman had been turned into the arrogant genius of the Renaissance or the solitary bohemian of modern times. The organic bonds between art and society had been reduced to mechanical connections between the commercialized artist and the open market. At the same time, the capitalist division of labour had turned the craft-worker into a part of the assembly process. For these reasons the painters of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood could count on Ruskin's support. When many of the Protestant English looked on the Catholic convert Pugin with suspicion, it fell to Ruskin to inspire them with admiration for the Gothic without arousing the traditional fear of popery.

From a critic of art, Ruskin became a critic of society: if great art was the expression of a sane community, the decay of art was the outcome of a sick one. For Ruskin, it seemed logical that Victorian society had to be healed before it could produce great art again. In many ways Marx had come to similar conclusions. Both men emphasized the loss of 'authentic work'; both condemned *laissez-faire* liberalism. Their recipes for a better world, however, differed radically: Marx preached social revolution, Ruskin asked for individual conversion. The hope for Ruskin was that 'true' artists would become 'the teachers of the rest of mankind', not as Carlyle's dynamic heroes, but as exemplars (Hewison 1976: 143).

After 1854, when his marriage had reached the end of its notoriously unhappy course, Ruskin turned to Rossetti for friendship. In pursuit of the new social mission, the two of them began teaching at the Working Men's College (Wilmer 1985: 75; Strudwick 1986: 315). Offered as an intriguing blueprint of a better society, Ruskin's 'The Nature of Gothic', a chapter from *The Stones of Venice*, was reprinted as a pamphlet by the college and given free of charge to all its students.

With *The Political Economy of Art*, a series of two lectures which Ruskin delivered in Manchester at the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, the change from critic of art to critic of society was complete. The choice of the occasion was appropriate, Manchester being the birthplace of utilitarian economics. Although he openly admitted that Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was the only book he had read on the subject, Ruskin's message was clear: economics should again become a moral philosophy (Hewison 1976: 138–139). Five years later, in 1862, Ruskin published his most famous book *Unto*

this Last (see St Matthew xx, 14). The first twenty-nine Labour members of Parliament elected in 1906, replied to a questionnaire that this book had influenced them the most, though it is doubtful whether any one of them had actually read it (Wilmer 1985: 30; Bell 1978: 147). That doubt seems the more plausible since *Unto this Last* proposed some severe, even punitive, educational responses to the problem of unemployment which, even in those more paternalistic times, could hardly have been considered truly socialist (Ruskin 1909: xiv). Ruskin accurately said of himself in the opening sentence of his autobiography *Praeterita*, 'I am, and my father was before me, a violent Tory of the old school.' (Ruskin 1978: 5)

When his father died in 1864, Ruskin inherited a considerable fortune. Understandably, given some of the more enlightened ideas in *Unto this Last*, he felt embarrassed and looked for opportunities to spend his money on a worthy social cause. One of the beneficiaries was Octavia Hill (1838–1912) who had been taking drawing lessons from Ruskin and was working as a secretary for the Working Men's College. She used the gift to start a housing project for the poor, based on the idea that regular contact between landlord and tenant would encourage domestic and educational self-improvement (Dixon Hunt 1982: 297; Young and Ashton 1967: 117–118). Hill also belonged to the group which in 1869 founded the Charity Organisation Society, a body which was soon to serve as a model for similar ventures in other countries. These activities brought her to prominence in the world of social reform and the new 'science of charity' (Himmelfarb 1991: 211).

Ruskin also showed some interest in the idea of a 'settlement' for educated people among the urban poor. The idea was actually taken forward by other people, principally Samuel Barnett, whose wife Henrietta Rowland had been a rent-collector and supervisor for Octavia Hill (Pimlott 1935: 14).

In 1869 Ruskin was appointed the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford. Not content with establishing a 'school of fine art for English gentlemen', he pleaded for 'the extension of education' and showed interest in the improvement of educational methods. He wished to make the University Galleries into 'an instructive and pleasant museum of art for persons of all ages'; a new Drawing School and Art Collection were designed to combat the inadequacies of traditional art education (Dixon Hunt 1982: 329–338). Ruskin's famous attempt to give his students some acquaintance with 'real' work through a village road-building project was an equally

famous failure: the work had to be completed by the specialists. Oscar Wilde, one of the students involved, remembered later: 'he thought that we should be working at something that would do good to other people, at something by which we might show that in all labour there was something noble' (Strudwick 1986: 318).

Ruskin's 'Guild of St George', designed as a strictly hierarchical organization to bring together agriculture, education and the preservation of beautiful objects, never really got off the ground. If Ruskin had been known only for naïve undertakings of this kind, he could well have been the inspiration of the portrait which Marx and Engels sketched of the conservative socialists: 'to this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind' (Marx and Engels 1985: 113).

The Paris Commune uprising of 1871 and the resulting damage done to his beloved monuments, meant for Ruskin the end of any possible sympathy for socialism or communism. In *Fors Clavigera*, a series of ninety-six open letters 'to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain' he wrote in a missive entitled 'Charitas' (Ruskin 1985: 294):

> For, indeed, I am myself a Communist of the old school—reddest also of the red; and was on the very point of saying so at the end of my last letter; only the telegram about the Louvre's being on fire stopped me [...] I thought the Louvre belonged to me as much as to the Parisians, and expected they would have sent word over to me, being an Art Professor, to ask whether I wanted it burnt down.

From 1889 until his death in 1900, Ruskin suffered from a mental breakdown. As a tribute to his many projects to improve the lot of the poor, Ruskin Hall was opened in Oxford in 1899, to serve as a link between adult and university education. Ruskin Hall was funded by three American admirers; its purpose was to teach men who had 'been merely condemning our institutions [...] to transform those institutions so that in place of talking against the world, they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world' (Strudwick 1986: 324; Peers 1972: 133).

William Morris: craftsman and socialist

For Asa Briggs, eminent student of the Victorian era, William Morris (1834–1896) 'was one of the most searching critics of British society in the nineteenth century' (Briggs 1980: 13). Morris came from a well-to-do, middle-class family; his father was a partner in a firm of discount brokers, his mother a descendant of prosperous merchants and landed proprietors. The family belonged to the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, which 'cursorily dismissed everything outside itself as Popery on the one hand or Dissent on the other' (Mackail 1912: 11).

Mr Morris died at an early age in 1847, before his son went to Marlborough College and absorbed the school's pervasive and romantic ideas of Anglo-Catholicism. William Morris then went to, and was further shaped by Oxford, still among the most medieval of English towns, with an atmosphere that no longer existed in modern industrial cities (Hilton 1989: 161). The attraction of near-Catholicism and medievalism lay for Morris in their contrast to the overpowering influence of liberal utilitarianism.

Even before they encountered the Pre-Raphaelites, Morris and his lifelong friend Burne-Jones had thought of founding a brotherhood of their own, celibate and dedicated to 'the purity of art and religion and to the service of the things of the spirit in a world given over to Mammon' (E. P. Thompson 1976: 24). An acquaintance with the Christian Socialism of Kingsley and the anti-papism of Ruskin put an early end to this youthful project (Gerlagh 1981: 21).

In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin had denied any necessary connection between Gothic art and Roman Catholic tradition. These volumes helped Morris towards the theory of art and society he was looking for: but where Ruskin stressed the creative side of labour and the disastrous effects of its division, Morris placed the emphasis on proper labour relations rather than on personal virtue. Ruskin raged against the use of the modern machine, Morris attacked its abuse. The miserable quality of the industrial products shown at the Great Exhibition at London's Crystal Palace in 1851 had shocked him. Like Pugin, he was appalled by the ubiquitous neo-Classical and neo-Gothic architecture. A meeting with Rossetti at the Working Men's College and the discovery of Pre-Raphaelite ideals were decisive for the rest of his life.

In 1857, Rossetti asked Morris and other friends to paint murals on the walls of the Oxford Union; the work was executed so amateurishly that the results soon threatened to disappear. A much more serious enterprise was the foundation in 1861 of 'the Firm', a modernized version of Ruskin's Guild of St George and a capitalist sequel to the abortive brotherhood of Oxford days. This company grew out of a co-operative project to build and furnish a home for Morris, the famous Red House in Kent. The partners included Morris himself as manager, and Burne-Jones, Rossetti and Madox Brown. Craftsmen were found from the Working Men's College, and their apprentices from a boys' home. In 1875 the Firm was dissolved and re-organized as Morris and Company. It designed and made furniture, jewellery, wallpaper and stained glass (Hilton 1989: 170).

In the following years, despite a less than successful domestic life, Morris earned a reputation as the compleat craftsman. Moreover, he did not confine himself to the decorative arts; he became an accomplished poet and a guardian of nature and architecture. In 1877, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (nicknamed 'Anti-Scrape') was founded, and Morris was appointed its honorary secretary. Carlyle and Ruskin lent their support; Morris drafted a manifesto, in which he reprinted passages from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (E. P. Thompson 1976: 228).

Increasingly he became aware of the stark contrast between his own comfortable way of life and the miserable conditions of the proletariat. Ironically enough, Morris became committed to the socialist cause in the same years during which he was producing work that could only be bought by a privileged élite. In 1883, he joined the (Social) Democratic Federation, announcing his conversion during a public address given at Oxford with Professor Ruskin in the chair (E. P. Thompson 1976: 270).

Although Morris agreed with Ruskin that a theory of art needed a theory of society, he became additionally convinced that social reform and even a social revolution were necessary. In *How I became a Socialist* he wrote, however, that it was ultimately for 'the province of art to set the true ideal of a full and reasonable life' (Williams 1982: 155). In his public speaking and in his writing, he stressed the aesthetic and moral elements of his politics: socialism was not a more just distribution of property, but a way of living. For many, Morris functioned as a bridge between Ruskin and Marx.

Morris feared, as Ruskin had done, that revolutionary violence would

lead to the destruction of beauty. For that reason it was all the more important 'that the revolution should not be an ignorant, but an educated revolution' (Poulson 1989: 105). In *News from Nowhere*, published in 1890 and probably his best-known book, he was still hopeful. This utopian novel was written in reaction to *Looking Backward* by Bellamy, whose vision of a highly totalitarian, state-capitalist society Morris abhorred (O'Sullivan 1990: 30). His own book prophesies the happy aftermath of a socialist revolution which was supposed to have taken place in 1952. It describes a world without money or industry, where people share a pleasant, rural life in small communities.

Although Marx had lived in London since 1849, Morris never met him. He did have several discussion with Engels and the two, however different temperamentally, spoke of each other with respect. Engels nevertheless treated Morris's medievalism with 'good-humoured toleration' and called him later a 'rich artist-enthusiast' and 'sentimental socialist' (E. P. Thompson 1976: 371, 785). So it is not quite clear whether Marx and Engels would have located William Morris in 'petty-bourgeois socialism', a school which 'dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour [...], it is both reactionary and Utopian. Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture, patriarchal relations in agriculture.' (Marx and Engels 1985: 109) According to Paul Thompson (1967: 230) Morris himself, contrary to some versions of the story, found in Marx the central figure of his socialist theory. In the view of E. P. Thompson (1976: 770), however, Morris was not an orthodox Marxist, but 'an original Socialist thinker whose work was complementary to Marxism'.

At the end of his life, Morris was not blind to the fact that the socialist revolution was still far away. The labour movement seemed to be falling apart in dissenting factions and a disappointed Morris abandoned politics. He spent his last years pursuing a totally new project. He founded the Kelmscott Press, designed typefaces and reprinted some of the medieval texts he had once collected as an Oxford undergraduate (Poulson 1989: 117).

Morris died in 1896, at the age of sixty-three, according to the family doctor 'a victim of his enthusiasm for spreading the principles of Socialism'. A colleague offered a different diagnosis: 'the disease is simply being William

Morris, and having done more work than most ten men' (E. P. Thompson 1976: 635). His socialist comrades stayed away from his funeral, fearing to offend his estranged widow (P. Thompson 1967: 47); the mourners were the Russian anarchist Kropotkin, some foreign refugees and his best-known student and propagandist, Walter Crane (1845–1915). By 1900, the Arts and Crafts movement with its main principles of 'design unity, joy in labour, individualism and regionalism', was a broad profession with numerous specialist branches (Cumming and Kaplan 1991: 7, 88).

The Netherlands at the 'fin de siècle'

The term '*fin de siècle*' belongs exclusively to one historical period: the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time it is used in a highly ambiguous way. For some it means 'decline' and 'decadence', for others the 'belle époque' or the 'gay 'nineties'. For the Dutch historian Romein, it was above all a period of transition, a 'plane of fracture between two centuries', a playground for pessimists as well as optimists (Romein 1976: 42–45). In the Netherlands, the optimists had the upper hand. The end of the century was mostly seen as a time of hope. The city of Amsterdam looked forward to the coming of a second Golden Age; with the introduction of steam-power, the digging of a canal to the North Sea, and connection to the international railway network there came new economic prosperity (Snijder 1985: 92). Optimism was reflected, for example, in the titles of periodicals like *De Nieuwe Gids* ('New Guide') and *De Nieuwe Tijd* ('New Times') (Thys 1955: 144).

The artistic 'generation of the 1880s' sometimes proudly called itself 'Young Holland' or 'Young Amsterdam'; *De Nieuwe Gids* was its mouthpiece. Notwithstanding the title of their journal, they can hardly be considered as a cohesive group agreed on the shape that the future should take (Kossmann 1978: 335). On the one side, the poet Kloos and the essayist van Deyssel embraced very individualistic 'l'art pour l'art' theories, anticipating in a way the 'Aesthetic movement' of Pater and Wilde in Britain, which was to continue pursuing the artistic aims of Ruskin and Morris whilst dispensing with their social goals. On the other side, *De Nieuwe Gids* published, certainly in its early days, political analyses by socialists such as A. H. Gerhard and P. L. Tak. In 1895, the two ways parted. Tak became the editor of a new journal, *De Kroniek* ('Chronicle'), which he soon turned into

the leading vehicle for the ideas and debates of the politically conscious 'generation of the 1890s'. *De Nieuwe Tijd* was a socialist monthly, edited by, among others, H. Gorter and Henriëtte Roland Holst, both poets and leading Marxist theorists of international stature. At its start, it was meant to function as an independent scientific and cultural journal for the young social-democratic labour movement. Later, *De Nieuwe Tijd* became an organ of revolutionary socialism.

The transitional period of the *fin de siècle* confirmed the downfall of the aristocracy and saw the rise of a new middle class. The liberal bourgeoisie no longer feared danger from above and did not yet feel seriously threatened from below. Only the 'progressive liberals' foresaw a turning of the tide. In 1870, some of them, among whom A. Kerdijk (1846–1905) was prominent, had formed a *Comité ter Bespreking der Sociale Quaestie* (Committee for Discussion of the Social Question). In 1886, Kerdijk decided to launch a *Sociaal Weekblad* ('Social Weekly'), and this publication was to play a major part in the debate on social issues during a period which saw the emancipation of Calvinists, Catholics, socialists and women (de Vroom 1988).

Until then, the dissenting Calvinists had played a subordinate role in a country where the liberal Dutch Reformed Church called the tune. Voluntary associations and denominational schools, however, became effective means of improving their status. The *Vereniging ter Bevordering van het Christelijk Nationaal Schoolonderwijs* (Association for promoting Christian National Schooling) was 'the first mass association based upon modern techniques of organization' (van Gent 1987: 287). This initiative led later, as a result of the efforts of the Calvinist leader Kuyper, to the establishment of the Anti-Revolutionary Party.

The Catholics had been held in low esteem since the victory of the Protestant Republic of the Seven United Provinces in the Eighty Years War against Spain. Although freedom of religion was formally acknowledged in 1798, re-introduction of the episcopal hierarchy had to wait till 1853. The parishes, which had functioned for a long time as independent local communities, then became once again sub-divisions of a powerful international structure. In its struggle against liberal materialism and individualism, the new Catholic leadership asked for spiritual devotion, centred around the 'holy family'. Catholic intellectuals such as J. A. Alberdingk Thijm longed for a revival of the medieval Burgundian realm.

As a result of the official restoration of Roman Catholicism, many new churches were needed. P. J. H. Cuypers (1827–1921), a student of the French renovator of medieval monuments Viollet-le-Duc, became their major architect. Cuypers, however, cannot be accused of cheap imitations since he fought against the dishonest use of materials and promoted training for all-round craftsmanship. He not only designed churches in the Gothic style, but was also much in demand for secular buildings. Among the Protestants, however, the fear of 'papist propaganda' by the 'ultramontane tendency' in architecture was still strong (Maas 1986: 26). At the same time, the new commercial bourgeoisie preferred, quite understandably, the art of the Renaissance. Cuypers complied, but not always. Contrary to the agreement, he added several Gothic elements to the approved Renaissance design of that monument of national pride, the Amsterdam *Rijksmuseum* (State Museum). This infuriated the monarch, who apparently promised 'never to set foot in this cloister' (Snijder 1985: 90).

In the meantime the socialist workers did not lag behind and had formed, as 'a red family', their own organizations. An acute observer like William Morris was much impressed by the 'extraordinary growth' of Dutch socialism (P. Thompson 1967: 240). A *Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij* (SDAP, Social Democratic Workers' Party) was founded in 1894. In several aspects, the Catholic and socialist struggles for emancipation had the same characteristics. Both were directed against liberal supremacy and the ideology of the Netherlands as a Protestant nation (van Dijk 1990: 37). The two movements also shared a sympathy for the 'pre-bourgeois' Middle Ages which had held together what capitalism had later divided: labour.

Aletta Jacobs' struggle against the male bulwarks of medicine and suffrage made her a leader of the feminist movement. The foundation of a *School voor Maatschappelijk Werk* (Institute of Social Work) in Amsterdam in 1899, one of the earliest foundations of its kind in the world, offered middle-class women a chance, for the first time, to earn their own living. Contrary to the modern use of the term, in the Netherlands at that time the notion of 'social work' meant not only public assistance, but also popular education. From its foundation, the institute was engaged in the entire gamut of activities that many years later were to be brought together under the heading of 'andragogy' (van Gent 1973: 30).

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The aesthetic dimension of Dutch adult education

During the decades around the turn of the last century art and adult education enjoyed a favourable climate. The rise of industry and commerce had led to a multitude of commissions for artists and better training facilities. In many different areas, the liberal bourgeoisie launched a 'civilizing offensive' to uplift the lower classes. The *Volkshuizen* ('Folk Houses') were seen as meeting places where the rich could spread their cultural message to the poor through social contact. The association *Kunst aan het Volk* ('Art to the People') was a specific attempt to provide the working class with arts education. The association was founded in 1903; one of its goals was 'the organization of visits to public collections of art' (Adang 1990: 92). The initiators had a left-wing liberal background. Most of them later became members of the SDAP, or sympathized with the socialist movement.

The élite of the socialist movement itself was to be found in the *Algemene Nederlandsche Diamantbewerkers Bond* (General Union of Dutch Diamond Workers). In 1903, this body announced the formation of a *Commissie voor Maatschappelijk Werk* (Committee for Social Work), with an assignment to 'engage in everything that would lead to the education of the members and the enhancement of their happiness' (Adang 1990: 86). Lectures on artistic subjects and visits to 'important exhibitions' were among the many activities of this committee.

The cultural education of the lower classes was not merely inspired by concern at their sorry conditions and the ugliness of their surroundings, but had also tactical motives. It was not only in Britain that the shock of the Paris Commune had made such an impression. The Dutch bourgeoisie feared a similar outburst of barbarism. The socialist movement's campaign for higher wages and more leisure-time was rendered especially difficult by the firm conviction among many that the only outcome would be excessive drinking and base forms of amusement among the proletariat (Adang 1990: 81).

The Calvinists and Catholics differed considerably in their appreciation of art. Whereas for the former the 'word' was of primary importance, the latter put great faith in the 'image'. In 1873, the Catholic lawyer de Stuers had published a still much-quoted article entitled 'Holland op zijn smalst' ('Holland at its most narrow-minded'), in which he denounced the scandalous neglect of the national artistic heritage (de Stuers 1975: 36–119). In it

he eloquently expressed the new feelings of cultural pride among the Dutch bourgeoisie at a time of strong economic revival. Two years later de Stuers became the senior officer of a new section for arts and sciences of the Interior Ministry, an instance of the often observed 'osmosis' of private initiative and the state in the Netherlands. In this capacity, he played an essential role in the establishment of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

In such a setting the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris were to fall on fertile ground. Their influence was felt in the many areas where adult education and art met each other. A. der Kinderen (1859–1925) belonged, together with Puvis de Chavannes, Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin, Rossetti and Morris, to a movement, international in scope, which wanted a revival of the Middle Ages, not only in painting, but in every art (van Gelder [nd]: 489). At the same time, Wagner was emphasizing the unity of the different arts in his theories of the opera as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) (Hamacher 1932: 41). In the Netherlands, the supremacy of Protestantism and the lack of a royal court had resulted in an absence of any 'monumental' tradition in art. For the Catholic der Kinderen, a monument should be the meeting point of different arts and artists; the organic links between artists and society which had been destroyed after the Middle Ages, could then be restored. In his work on the town hall of Den Bosch, he was faithful to these principles.

In 1870, the *Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten* (the Royal Academy of Visual Arts) was transformed into a publicly maintained *Rijksacademie voor Beeldende Kunsten* (State Academy). Art, or more specifically the art of drawing, was seen as an important factor in the industrialization of the Netherlands (Martis 1984: 42). As director of this state academy, der Kinderen ventured to apply his ideas to the education of artists. In his opinion, the rise of academies during the Renaissance and their emphasis on the theoretical aspects had led to an increasing distance between artists and society (van Gent 1990). According to his fellow Catholic Alberdingk Thijm, this decline was reinforced by the Reformation which had driven art out of the churches and into the studios of individual artists and the private homes of collectors (Martis 1985: 17). During his directorship, der Kinderen sought to reinstate the educational system of the guilds (Trappeniers 1981: 53–54).

The Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851 had not only shocked Morris — the exhibits from the Netherlands had failed to win a single award.

The poor quality of the Dutch products and the heavy international competition showed the need for a completely new policy in the training of craftsmen. The eighteenth century had led to a distinction between 'fine arts' and 'decorative arts'; afterwards a further distinction was made between 'decorative arts' and 'industrial arts'. The nineteenth century slogan of 'l'art pour l'art' had widened this gap even more (Martis 1990: 166). The exhibition 'Kunst toegepast op Nijverheid' ('Art applied to Industry') which was held in 1877 in Amsterdam, can be seen as a turning point. The architect J. R. de Kruyff (1844–1923) became the major ideologue of the applied-art movement. In his view, art and industry had to be compared with 'a chemical reaction, after which both components could no longer be recognized as separate parts' (Martis 1990: 169).

Already during the building of the Rijksmuseum, the lack of properly trained workers had been dramatically obvious; foreign workers had to be hired to perform most of the most handiwork. In this context, the influence of Ruskin and Morris could have a significant impact in the 'aesthetization' and professionalization of applied art in the Netherlands (Ramakers 1985: 21; Martis 1990: 169). New educational institutions and training methods were introduced which were partly based on the English guild-system of the Arts and Crafts movement. The first results of these efforts were to be seen in 1900 at the Paris World Fair (Gans 1960: 17–18).

The art critic, painter and etcher J. P. Veth (1864–1925) coined the term *gemeenschapskunst* (community art). Influenced at first by the individualists from the 'generation of the 1880s' for whom the artist was 'a god in the deepest of his thoughts'. Der Kinderen's work on the town hall at den Bosch and the simultaneous publication of *The Claims of Decorative Art* (1892) by Morris's disciple Crane confronted Veth with 'the birth of a new art' in which medievalism and the need for a new community formed the main concepts. This approach called no longer for the expression of highly individual feelings, but rather for a search into the essence of the past when art and society were still organically linked. The role of the artist was now to 'inspire and motivate those who are on the road towards tomorrow' (Braches 1973: 61–66). Two years later, Veth (1894) published his influential *Kunst en Samenleving* ('Art and Community'), an adaptation of Crane's book. His house in Laren became the centre for the moral, aesthetic and educational ideals of the community-art movement (van der Wiel 1988: 141). In his 'in

memoriam' for William Morris, Veth ([nd]: 237–239) praised the 'great poet', 'delightful craftsman', 'persisting practitioner' and 'enthusiastic utopian' who acted through education and example. In 1918, der Kinderen asked Veth to become a professor at the Rijksacademie for visual arts.

The news of the death of Morris prompted the artists R. N. Roland Holst (1868–1938) and his wife Henriëtte Roland Holst (1869–1952) to opt for socialism. In her memoirs, the latter wrote (1984: 18):

> my husband was very much overtaken by the death of Morris; he took his works from the big bookcase [...] and we started to re-read the essays on art and society which we had not seen for years. Apparently, I had matured during those years so that I could now understand them, it was as if the scales fell from my eyes, as if I saw society and life around me in a new, clear light.

Husband and wife joined the young SDAP a year later. The first article Henriëtte Roland Holst wrote for *De Nieuwe Tijd* was on Morris. Through her practical activities, theoretical writings and many 'Songs for May Day' she contributed to the political, social and cultural education of the Dutch working class. Richard Roland Holst had met Morris in person when his artistic education had taken him to London to work with the English decorative artists Ricketts and Shannon. He had paid Morris a visit and had accompanied him afterwards to the British Museum (H. Roland Holst 1979: 96). During a later stay, Roland Holst was asked by the publisher of *Kunst en Samenleving* to present Crane with a copy of this Dutch adaptation (Braches 1973: 59).

Roland Holst was deeply troubled by the transformation of Amsterdam from a dreamy town into an industrial city, full of social misery (Zeeman 1989: 11). Together with der Kinderen, he became active in the movement for 'community art'. Soon, a division occurred within this movement between the two ideologies which Morris had tried to combine. The debate took place in Tak's *De Kroniek* and was a continuation of a discussion which had already torn apart the editorial board of *De Nieuwe Gids*. At that time, the main conflict had been over 'art' versus 'society'. Now, the dispute was about 'community art' itself, between the pessimists who preferred the higher realms of theosophy or related branches of mysticism, and the optimists who had committed themselves to one of the several socialist options. Der Kinderen pined for the spiritual climate of a medieval past, while a 'socialist' like Roland Holst wanted, from a more materialistic point

of view, to work for a better future (van Dijk 1990: 38–39). His early enthusiasm for the socialist movement, however, soon evaporated. He could not accept the pragmatic course which the SDAP had taken, and he deeply regretted its accompanying loss of idealism (van der Heijden 1991: 37).

In 1926, Roland Holst succeeded der Kinderen as director of the Rijksacademie. Meanwhile, his wife had joined the Marxist *Sociaal Democratische Partij* which in 1918 became the *Communistische Partij Holland*. For some years, she had many personal contacts with Lenin and other leading communists. The developments in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin in 1924 convinced her that she could no longer defend the cause of communism; she then became a religious socialist for the rest of her long life.

H. Polak (1868–1943) was one of the 'twelve apostles' who had founded the SDAP in 1894. He was also the charismatic leader of the diamond workers' union, established in that same year. Between 1889 and 1890, Polak had worked in England; he had returned as a firm believer in trade unionism and socialism. Van der Goes, the first Marxist theorist of the Dutch labour movement, brought him into contact with the world of Morris, and his ideas on capitalist destruction and socialist edification had a permanent influence on Polak (van der Heijden 1991: 12). Both men arrived at the same conclusions, although they had travelled along different roads. Morris had come from art to socialism, while for Polak it was the other way around (van Dijk 1990: 62). Like Veth, Polak published an 'in memoriam' for William Morris which appeared in *De Nieuwe Tijd* in December 1896. Unlike Veth, who had used Crane as an intermediary, he did much to spread the word of his idol in a more direct way. In 1903, a series of lectures by Morris was published as *Kunst en Maatschappij* ('Art and Society'), to which Polak added a preface containing a sketch of Morris's life (Morris 1903).

In 1898, Polak asked the architect H. P. Berlage (1856–1934), who at that time was gaining a reputation in the field of 'community art', to design the new headquarters of the diamond workers' union. In 1896 and 1897, Berlage had worked hard on what was to become his masterpiece, de Beurs (the Exchange) in Amsterdam. The actual construction of the Exchange started in 1898 and took five years. Faithful to the ideas of 'community art', Berlage had asked the co-operation of, among others, der Kinderen for the stained glass windows and Roland Holst for the murals. The influence of Ruskin, Morris and Crane on the work of the socialist Berlage actually strikes

the eye. After all, 'Dutch socialism often borrowed its aestheticism from Britain whilst drawing its economic and political currency from Germany' (Kossmann 1978: 451). In a way, Berlage suffered the same fate as Morris: paradoxically, he who believed that true architecture was only possible in a socialist society was to do his finest work in the service of capitalism.

Polak's commission to build his union's headquarters at least did not confront Berlage with such an ideological dilemma. The stained-glass windows were made in der Kinderen's studio; Roland Holst's murals can be seen as a fine specimen of the belief in the educational function of 'community art'. The whole building was intended to serve as an 'ideal house that surrounds the workers with an environment of beauty, a phenomenon which a capitalist society prevents them from having at home' (van der Heijden 1991: 24).

In many other ways, Polak was a follower of Morris. He became an active protector of old monuments and an early environmentalist. Through his publications he tried to convey to the lower class his love of artistic and natural beauty. In his *Het Kleine Land en zijn Groote Schoonheid* ('The Small Country and its Great Beauty'), he quoted extensively from 'the great English poet and decorative artist William Morris in his capacity of secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings' and he did the same with 'John Ruskin, the great apostle of beauty of the nineteenth century' (Polak 1941: 147, 201).

The psychiatrist and writer F. W. van Eeden (1860–1932) was the most popular contributor to *De Nieuwe Gids* (Stuiveling 1981: 96). From a characterological point of view, he was also the most complex personality from the 'generation of the 1880s' (Romein-Verschoor 1947: 17). During the debates on art and society in *De Nieuwe Gids*, he defended his religious brand of socialism against the extreme individualism of van Deyssel (*nom de guerre* of the son of the Catholic intellectual leader Alberdingk Thijm), and against the dogmatic Marxism of van der Goes.

In *De Nieuwe Gids*, van Eeden also looked after a column on 'new English prose' in which he introduced Morris, Pater and Wilde. In his preface to the translation of Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*, van Eeden said of its author: 'this rich Brit who once had maintained that beautifully bound books and a well-treated tack belong to the necessary goods of a virtuous man, became the most eloquent communist England ever had' (van Eeden 1918: vi). In the

same preface, he considered Ruskin's colonization plan of the St George guild an unfortunate failure, but also 'a masterly design and a glorious piece of fiction', not only 'a moral document and high ethical standard, but also containing practical proposals of great importance'. In 1898, van Eeden had started his own co-operative project, 'Walden', for which he had taken Thoreau as his mentor. Van Eeden regretted that he had come to know Ruskin at such a late date, because an earlier familiarity could have spared him many difficulties (de Vrankrijker 1979: 124). After all, van Eeden's plan began with equally elevated educational ideals and ended in 1907 with comparable results. During the last period of his life, van Eeden became mentally ill; an earlier conversion to Roman Catholicism did not provide him with the peace of mind he had been looking for.

The Dutch translation of Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera* was published by L. Simons (1862–1932), founder of the *Wereldbibliotheek* ('World Library'), a society 'for good and cheap literature'. This firm also published Ruskin's *Tijd en Getij* (*Time and Tide*) with a preface by Simons (1909). In total, eight books by Ruskin were translated into Dutch in the period around 1900, and four by Morris (Tibbe 1985: 36).

At the beginning of the 1890s, Simons was active in several projects in the field of popular education. He established the association *Leeskunst* ('Art of Reading'), which organized discussions about books among small groups of lower-class people. In 1893, Simons went to England, where he became a partner in the publishing house of Henry and Co. During his stay, he attended several lectures by Morris and had contacts with the Arts and Crafts movement. After his return, he decided to combine his interest in popular education and his knowledge of publishing. In this endeavour, he was inspired by other European initiatives, like the German Reklams Universal-Bibliothek and the British Dent's Everyman's Library. In 1905, Simons established the Wereldbibliotheek; several well-known philanthropists in the world of popular education participated in his enterprise by buying shares (Zojuist Verschenen 1955: 13–15; de Glas 1989: 66–70).

For Simons, it was an important issue of principle that people should be attracted to buy and keep the books he produced on account of their well-designed appearance. Witnessing the revival of book-decoration by Morris and his Kelmscott Press, he commissioned the typographer S. H. de Roos (1877–1962) to design book-covers and create new typefaces.

According to Radermacher Schorer (1952: 22), one can distinguish between two developments in the revival of the Dutch art of printing at the end of the nineteenth century: a short period of the so-called 'decorators' associated with the 'generation of the 1890s', and the period of the 'typographers' which began after 1895. The decorators showed no interest in the relationship between their ornamentations and the other aspects of a book, whereas the typographers stressed, under the influence of Morris, the organic unity between typefaces, ornamentation and illustration (Gans 1960: 114). *Kunst en Samenleving*, the adaptation by Veth of Crane's *The Claims of Decorative Art*, illustrated by G. W. Dijsselhof, is an example of the first period. *Kunst en Maatschappij*, containing the lectures of Morris and designed by de Roos, is a perfect specimen of the second. It was the beginning of a new era in the art of printing and it established de Roos as the founding father.

The entrepreneur J. C. van Marken (1845–1906) was not only the owner of a large company in Delft, but also a social pioneer who wanted to contribute to 'the embellishment of the life and the uplifting of the moral and intellectual level' of his workers (Schafrat 1975: 23). He was a member of the committee established by Kerdijk to discuss the 'social question', and his sister-in-law was married to this progressive liberal (de Vries 1978: 7).

Van Marken was much inspired by the utopian dreams of Ruskin and Morris and their longing for a new community. In 1882 he started a housing project next to his business premises, where he intended to live with his family amidst the workers. 'Agnetapark', completed in 1885 and named after van Marken's wife, comprised not only houses, but also various spaces set aside for education and leisure. Under the influence of Ruskin, van Marken paid special attention to the quality of the architectural design (Nijenhuis 1981: 33). The landscape architect Zocher was commissioned to make the overall plan of the park with its houses, lakes and bridges. On the side of the biggest lake, the architect Gugel built a residence which the ever-active van Marken named 'Rust Roest' ('rest makes rusty') (de Vries 1978: 25).

The experiment was not very successful; the workers did not want to live under such close supervision. Helene Mercier (1839–1910), one of the founding mothers of social work and adult education in the Netherlands, criticized 'the leader of this city who, at the same time as being the boss of its inhabitants sits as a patriarch in the middle of his own creation'. In her

view the project had been 'made', whereas van Marken should have allowed it to 'grow'. As a result, she argued, the small community of Agnetapark remained isolated from the social jungle outside (de Vries 1978: 25).

In 1888, Mercier had written in the *Sociaal Weekblad* that she hoped for 'a Dutch Ruskin and a Dutch Octavia Hill who would devote themselves to supervised housing projects' (Simons 1985: 71). Although neither a Ruskin nor a Hill was immediately on hand, Mercier managed to send two young women, Johanna ter Meulen and Louise Went, to London, where they could study the English combination of social work and adult education. In 1896, Mercier's efforts resulted in the establishment of the 'Bouwonderneming Jordaan' (Jordaan building enterprise). The project was funded by C. W. Janssen who owned plantations in the Netherlands East Indies. Not everybody was happy with this new approach. For Catharina Alberdingk Thijm it seemed 'somewhat revolting when civilized and well-to-do ladies collect rent for capitalists' (de Regt 1984: 190). Much to the regret of Mercier herself, Hill's goal of bringing 'joy and beauty' into the lives of the poor was not always reached. Even in the supervised housing projects she had found 'one-room apartments that look like the modern salon of the rich bourgeois: they are alike warehouses of bric-à-brac' (Himmelfarb 1991: 215; de Regt 1984: 100).

In 1890, Helene Mercier published her translation of *Practicable Socialism* by S. A. Barnett and his wife Henrietta under the title *Uitvoerbaar Socialisme: Studiën over sociale hervorming*. Two years later she established, again with the help of the tobacco planter Janssen, 'Ons Huis' ('Our Home') in Amsterdam, the first Dutch Folk House, inspired by the example of Barnett's Toynbee Hall. Before his departure for England, the publisher Simons had been involved in the planning of this institution. The building contained a library, a reading-room, and a theatre which could also be used for exhibitions of, for example the books of the Wereldbibliotheek as well as 'the products of the craftsman' (Simons 1985: 88).

Helene Mercier played an important role in the preparation of the School of Social Work. Together with Kerdijk, she advised Marie Muller-Lulofs who had been the first in putting forward the idea of a professional training for public assistance and popular education. The institute opened its doors in 1899. Weak health prevented Helene Mercier from taking an active part in the daily management (Neij and Hueting 1989: 15).

When she died in 1910, she was commemorated in an introduction to a collection of her essays as 'a saint of modern times' (Kapteyn-Muysken [nd]: vii). Ruskin had been similarly canonized. At his burial, a card on one of the wreaths carried the words: 'There was a man sent from God, whose name was John' echoing the Gospel according to Saint John (Warmenhoven 1973: 16). Holland had found the Ruskin that Mercier had been looking for.

Emilie Knappert (1860–1952) can be seen as the 'leading lady' of Dutch adult education. Her optimist *fin de siècle* motto was 'what must be done, must be done' (Slangen 1982: 68). A collection of essays, presented to her on her seventieth birthday, gives testimony of the variety of activities in which she was involved. These different undertakings were based on a constellation of related interests. Snellen, one of the contributors, drew attention to this when she wrote: 'Who thinks of Emilie Knappert and her social activities, thinks of William Morris, of John Ruskin, of *Aurora Leigh* by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, of the poems of Wordsworth, of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, of Thomas Carlyle.' (Snellen 1930: 232)

In one respect, her inclination towards mysticism and her training as a teacher of religion had brought her closer to Ruskin than to Morris. Ruskin's *Unto this Last* was her constant companion (de Meijer-van der Waerden 1960: 33–40). She shared his love for nature and art, his admiration for honest craftsmanship and his belief in social reconciliation through the moral edification of the poor (Slangen 1982: 98). In another respect, though, Knappert was not prepared to remain neutral in the face of social injustice. After the big railway strike of 1903, several 'strangling laws' were proposed by Kuyper, prime minister and leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party. Together with the publisher Simons and the architect Berlage, she signed a strongly worded protest (Nijenhuis 1981: 42).

Four years earlier, 'Het Leidsche Volkshuis' (Leiden Folk House) was opened in a building which remains impressive even today (Slangen 1982: 133). According to the first statutes, its objective was to raise 'the level of education, culture, and happiness among the working, and comparable classes in Leiden and its surroundings' (van Gent 1991: 204). Professors and students organized lectures, musical performances and exhibitions. They also provided legal assistance to the poor, mostly in disputes over rent. For sixteen years Knappert was in charge of this folk house.

In 1915, the year she became director of the School of Social Work in

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Amsterdam, Simons invited her to work for the Wereldbibliotheek as editor of a new journal for women, entitled *Leven en Werken* ('Live and Work') (Salomons 1957: 66). Her love for nature and her need to share her enthusiasms with others led to her book *Kijkjes in de Plantenwereld* ('Glances into the World of Plants'), nowadays a collector's item on account of the illustrations by L. W. R. Wenckebach (Knappert 1893).

An important gift of money enabled Emilie Knappert to commission the building of a residential centre in Noordwijkerhout, in the bulb-growing area near the North Sea. The architect was J. J. P. Oud, a student of Berlage; the artists Th. van Doesburg and H. H. Kamerlingh Onnes were responsible for the interior decorating. Legend has it that a poem by William Wordsworth inspired Emilie Knappert to build 'De Vonk' ('The Spark'), as the house was called. The first stone was laid on 8 February 1918, for Emilie Knappert a highly symbolic date: it was the anniversary of the founding of the University of Leiden and the birthday of both Ruskin and Barnett (van der Heide [nd]: 14). When the building was completed, the main room was decorated with the portraits of John Ruskin and William Morris.

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8

The Arbeiterbuchgemeinschaften in the Weimar Republic: an instrument of cross-cultural adult education?

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Introduction

At the beginning of the 1920s in Germany, there was an atmosphere of creativity, an interest in experimentation throughout the social sector, in politics, the arts, and in many other different fields of life. In response to the experiences of the First World War, progressive intellectual forces in the Weimar Republic committed themselves to the construction of a better educational system for working-class people. It was their intention that education should enable people to analyse and understand their own situation and to take action in order to change society. In the heady intellectual atmosphere of Weimar, where the mood for creating a new way of life was omnipresent, internationalism rather than patriotism was the basic ideological driving-force behind the establishment of numerous *Bildungsvereine* (educational associations) and *Buchgemeinschaften* (book clubs) in the Weimar Republic.

Arbeiterbildungsvereine (workers' educational associations) had been first established during the 1830s in Germany. Their conception of education was closely associated with the distribution of literature in general, and the encouragement of the habit of reading among workers in particular. Economic circumstances, however, prohibited an adequate supply of books for their members for the purposes of furthering their education. For most working-class households, books were regarded as an unaffordable luxury, and education in this form was far too expensive for them. Against a

background of very similar economic circumstances in the Weimar Republic, four book clubs were established which were directed in particular at the interests of working-class people. They sought to contribute to the continuing education of workers through educational activities which were specifically devoted to the publication and distribution of an international literature.

The questions raised in this paper are twofold. Firstly, what was their influence upon cultural life in the Weimar Republic? Secondly, how important were these workers' book clubs in promoting adult education, especially with reference to the rise of National Socialism? The paper is based upon an unpublished report of original archive research conducted by the author some years ago, together with relevant sources in the secondary literature.

The workers' book clubs: organization and purposes

Although they each had a different emphasis in their work, the common purpose of all four book clubs was to encourage learning and to disseminate knowledge through the publication and distribution of selected literature at a reasonable price for workers. One formulation of this purpose was to promote engagement with the intellectual work of other nations (*Dies und Das* 1926: 2), and, in particular, to disseminate the sort of literature which presented a progressive way of thinking and provided illustrations of alternative forms for the organization of both the state and society.

All four book clubs were organized in a similar way in that the production and distribution of books was financed by membership fees. The fee was about one Reichsmark per month. The members received one book each quarter on the basis of easy terms of payment, the price of the books ranging from one to six marks. Furthermore, the members received a monthly journal with information about and reviews of new publications. These journals also served as a forum of expression for the opinions of the readers themselves.

Taken as a whole, there were three major factors which marked the differences between the workers' book clubs in comparison with the many middle-class and denominational book clubs of the period. First of all, there was the absence of the profit motive. Secondly, the social background of their

members was very different. Thirdly, they manifested an interest in actively changing the prevailing political and social conditions in the Weimar Republic.

The basic idea behind the four workers' book clubs of the Weimar period was the development and education of the working class by way of making low-priced books available to them, and the dissemination of forms of literature that were intended to enable the worker to compare his situation with that of people in other countries and to draw his own conclusions.

This ambitious educational and cultural endeavour was supported by leading artists and intellectuals, including Albert Einstein, Alexandra Kollontai, Upton Sinclair, George Grosz and Käthe Kollwitz. Great importance was attached to the dissemination of a broad selection from the literature from many countries as a means of educating the workers and of giving direction to the struggle for better living conditions. This was demonstrated in a poem written by Kurt Tucholsky. The title of the poem was 'For the worker with the intellectual against the common enemy' (Tucholsky 1929). It can be read as both an invitation and a programme for the workers' book clubs.

> Was soll ich denn lesen—?
> Die paar Stunden,
> die dir Fabrik und Schreibstube läßt,
> kannst du seelisch wieder gesunden—
> aber halt an deiner Gesinnung fest!
> Biographien der Vaterlandsretter?
> Nein.
> Patriotisches Phrasengeschmetter?
> Nein.
> Deine Welt. Die Revolutionen.
> Kolonialpolitik und Expeditionen.
> Die Geschichte der Völker. Die Verbrechen des Staats.
> Die echten Führer des Proletariats.
> Die Russen. Petroleum. Der Kampf der Chinesen.
> Das sollst du lesen.
> [...]
> Dein Weltbild—unverlogen und klar;
> Die Geburt der Maschine mit ihrem Fluche—

Die Lehren mißglückter Befreiungsversuche.
Justiz. Amerika. Zeitungswesen.
Das sollst du lesen.
Es geht um das Glück, das sie deiner Klasse genommen.
Wissen ist Macht. Kämpfe!
Und sei willkommen!

These four book clubs, which directed their literary and educational programmes to the working people, were the *Büchergilde Gutenberg* (Gutenberg Book Guild) with its trade-union orientation, the *Bücherkreis* (Book Circle) with a social-democratic tradition, the *Universum Bücherei für Alle* (Universal Library for All) with strong connections to the Communist Party, and the anarchist *Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde* (Guild of Libertarian Book Lovers). Even if they expressed different emphases, they all identified with the request made in the poem by Tucholsky.

Characteristics of the four book clubs

The Büchergilde Gutenberg

This guild was founded in 1924 by the *Bildungsverband deutscher Buchdrucker* (the printers' educational association). It was the first book club to develop directly from the working classes. From the start, it fought for workers' education although it did not place such a strong stress on class struggle as did the other book clubs. The primary purpose of the Büchergilde Gutenberg was to work without profit and in this manner to make it possible for the poorer social stratum to buy good books. The book was meant to introduce sound and colour into the grey of everyday working life and to be a constant companion which would bring with it consolation and support (Preczang 1924: 6).

Adventure novels with socio-critical aspects were among the first titles published by the Büchergilde Gutenberg. The subsequently world-famous author B. Traven, then living in exile in Mexico, was discovered by Ernst Preczang, who was the first reader for the Büchergilde. Traven and Jack London were the two authors who were used from the start in order to make the reader appreciate the way of life of people in other countries. They

contributed much to the great early success of the Büchergilde Gutenberg.

German authors also wrote for the Guild of course. In addition to edifying literature, the subjects also included the sciences, politics, history and culture. A new reader for the Büchergilde formulated the objectives of this book club much more clearly than had been the case before, when he wrote (Knauf 1931: 14) that

> The Büchergilde Gutenberg only has the right to exist if it helps to redesign the present social order. It contributes to this by creating books in which the new world view manifests itself and from which the readers draw the energy to complete the work that has already been started.

The declared objective of the Büchergilde Gutenberg from this time onwards was to promote the educational forms and the dissemination of knowledge that would contribute to the construction of a new society.

Erich Knauf was the reader who placed the greatest store on foreign literature as a medium for learning. He argued that 'The international mind knows no boundaries, and the Büchergilde Gutenberg no foreign countries' (Knauf 1928: 5), and it was to this purpose that the programme of this book club was subsequently directed.

A few examples may suffice to help elucidate this programme which was meant to introduce the readers to knowledge about the social situation in other countries. *The Gap* was a novel written by Ellen Wilkinson, a Labour Member of the British Parliament, in which she describes the different positions assumed during the General Strike of 1926. Upton Sinclair's novels *How to Make Dollars* and *Boston*, which were concerned respectively with the labour disputes in North America and the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, were published in 1929. In the same year, the works of several Russian writers were published, which included modern Russian prose from Alimov, Karpov and Soshtshenko, the autobiographical work of Savinkov *Memories of a Terrorist*, and Woytinsky's *The First Storm*, together with a complete edition of Dostoevsky's work. Hungary was represented by Johann Komáromi and his novel *Téri*, Czechoslovakia by Ivan Olbracht and his novel about a prisoner's life, which was published in 1932 under the title *The Naked Mirror*. Authors from Denmark included Martin Andersen Nexö and Hans Povlsen, while other Scandinavian authors were Kristmann Gudmundsson, Albert Viksten, and Frederik Parelius with his novel *Africa without Peace* in 1931. The Spanish writer Vicente Blasco Ibáñez appeared

regularly in the programme of the Büchergilde Gutenberg from 1929 onwards. Among French authors were André Reuze with his novel about cycle-racing *Giants of the Country Road* in 1928, and André Demaison and George Duhamel. Last but not least, one should mention Charles de Coster's *Tyll Uilenspiegel en Lamme Goedzak*, a novel which the Büchergilde Gutenberg presented as the 'world-famous freedom novel of the people of Flanders' (*Die Büchergilde* 1929: 2/32).

The Bücherkreis

The circle was founded in 1924 by the *Sozial-demokratischer Reichsausschuß für sozialistische Bildung* (Social-Democratic national committee for socialist education). Like the Büchergilde Gutenberg, the Bücherkreis formulated its objectives in terms of providing the working classes with good and low-priced books. A programmatic statement in the first edition of its journal indicates that the Bücherkreis regarded itself as an organization which wanted to give of its best at little cost and to pursue serious cultural intentions (*Der Bücherkreis* 1924: 1/4). As a new and most important element, this particular book club expressed its intention 'to create the most intimate intellectual community between its readers and writers' (*Der Bücherkreis* 1924: 1/4). Indeed, the Bücherkreis distinguished itself from all other book clubs through the organization of public events such as live readings and discussion circles.

Similar to that of the Büchergilde Gutenberg, the programme of the Bücherkreis was at first aimed at the dissemination of edifying literature, with entertaining works and those of a popular scientific character being preferred for the moment above those presenting the perspective of class struggle. This changed, however, in early 1929 when a new reader, Karl Schröder, started to determine the programme of the Bücherkreis. It was not only the beautiful book, but much more the workers' education that was very important to him. 'Education in class struggle ranks above all aesthetic arguments. Books are not nicely constructed property, they are comrades in the battle in which everybody's energy participates' (*Der Bücherkreis* 1930: 1/78) Consequently, the programme was redirected towards the publication of novels which were more closely related to the workers and dealt with the world of labour, economics and significant historical events. Karl Schröder in particular added the works of writers from abroad. Their descriptions of

the freedom movements in other countries were intended to provide examples and to have an educational effect on their readers. There were, for instance, the first two volumes, in 1929, of the novel by the Danish writer Jeppa Aakjär *Seething Forces*, which dealt with farm labourers and their struggle for their own land, as well the story of Schröder himself, *Jan Beek*, about a worker who had to find his part in the confusion of the 1918 revolution.

Schröder was also convinced of internationalism's strength when he declared that 'Space to the present! Space to the forces of socialism springing up all over the world as an element of struggle and the foundation of a new society!' (*Der Bücherkreis* 1930: 1/78) He applied this idea in practice with a widespread range of foreign literature. *Merijntje Gijzens Jeugd* and *De rare Koster* were works by the Dutch writer A. M. de Jong. England was represented by Paul Banks' novel *The Patient Albion*, about strikes and lock-outs in the English textile industry, and Leonard Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle*, which was an accusation against British colonial policies in Ceylon. Russian authors were also represented, among them being a document from the Russian revolution *Asev: The story of a betrayal.* A volume of photographs by Erich Grisar *Through Europe with a Camera and a Typewriter*, was published as a testimony of the freedom movements in other countries, as was *The Red Lances*, a novel by Arturo Uslar Pietri and Hernán Robleto about the struggle for freedom in Latin America. From the German author Helmut Wickert came a novel entitled *I. G. Germany* which dealt with the politico-economical machinations of the IG Farben group. *Debit and Credit* by Gustav Freytag and *Village and Community* by Nicolai Borgdanov, a novel about the struggle of Russian farmers with the collectivization, were the last two volumes issued by the Bücherkreis and could be distributed in only a few copies at the beginning of 1933.

The Universum Bücherei für Alle

The creation of the Universum Bücherei für Alle in 1926 had its origins in the initiative of the *Internationale Arbeiter Hilfe* (international workers' aid), of which the Communist Member of the Reichstag, Willi Münzenberg, was the organizer. Münzenberg, Egon Erwin Kisch, Erwin Piscator and Maxim Gorki were among the founding members of this book club. The literary programme was not in the hands of one single reader but of a literary

advisory board, which comprised significant personalities from the arts and sciences, and which discussed together the publication of new books.

During the first two years of its existence, the Universum Bücherei für Alle regarded itself as a progressive organization in the widest sense. The addition of 'für Alle' to its title indicated that it was not intended to identify absolutely with the interests of the working classes alone, but that it was also directed at a wider public of all kinds of progressive groups.

In the announcement launching this new book club it was stated that 'Through common union we want to make the progressive people of our time appreciate each other and the modern spirit [...] Furthermore the finest of literature and science of all forms will have its say.' (*Dies und Das* 1926: 1/2) The statement of the GDR author Heinz Sommer contradicts this when he argues that the objective of the Universum Bücherei für Alle would have been to 'appeal to as wide as possible sections of the working population, to impart to them progressive, revolutionary good ideas' (Sommer 1983: 23). The more artistic and intellectual self-image of this book club was hardly likely to appeal to 'wide sections of the working population'. The Universum Bücherei für Alle did not lay claim to be a proletarian organization, and it turned in general to progressive people, 'to forward-looking people'. At the beginning most of the members of this book club were intellectuals.

The Universum Bücherei für Alle also distinguished itself in a lively exercise in public relations of which the inexhaustible engine was Willi Münzenberg. The organization of reading circles and lecture evenings, of film events and festivities were highly effective in this respect and constantly brought in new members.

The Universum Bücherei für Alle showed the strongest international orientation of all the clubs. It began its programme with Maxim Gorki's *The Work of the Artamonovs*, a novel in which the Artamonov family served as an example of the ruin of the bourgeois-capitalist society. Further early works included Alfons Goldschmidt's *On the Trails of the Aztecs*, Upton Sinclair's *President of USA* and Egon Erwin Kisch's *Ventures All Over the World*. From French literature, the works of Balzac, Chateaubriand and Stendhal were published, but the most important venture here was an edition of Émile Zola's works in eight volumes. *Sacco und Vanzetti* from Eugène Lyons was published, and Stijn Streuvels' *De Knecht Jan* from the Dutch.

At the beginning the subjects of the novels were poverty and oppression, cultural history from foreign countries, criticism of social relations and reports on historical figures who were fighting for more justice. Taken together the programme during the first three years' activity of the Universum Bücherei für Alle was marked by an educational programme with a socio-critical approach. From 1929 onwards, more works were published in which the subject was social progress in the Soviet Union. These included Tarassov Rodinov's novel *February* which documented the events surrounding the February revolution of 1917, Larissa Reissner's selected papers with the title *October*, and Juri Tinyanov's *The Decabrists*. The subjects of these books were historical documentaries, stories from the world of labour and scientific-technical progress in the Soviet Union.

In 1929, Kurt Tucholsky's volume of satire *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, with photomontages by John Heartfield, was published as well as John Dos Passos' *Three Soldiers*, a plea against military service. A great success in 1929 was *The People's Book 1930*, which contained several drawings by George Grosz and Heinrich Zille together with literary and political contributions by Henri Barbusse, August Bebel, Johannes R. Becher, Bertold Brecht, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Wilhelm and Karl Liebknecht, Willi Münzenberg, Kurt Tucholsky and others. With this book the course was set away from an avant-garde book circle believing in progress and an unspecific idea of the modern age towards a book club oriented towards the class struggle.

From 1929 onwards, the programme was aimed more strongly towards proletarian-revolutionary literature, the subjects including labour disputes, political prisoners or the struggle against landowners as this is described in Milo Urban's novel *The Living Whip* in which Serbian farm labourers fight against their feudal lord. Another great success for a foreign work was the novel *The Crimes of Father Amaro*. This was a merciless settling of accounts with the machinations of the Catholic Church by the Portuguese writer José Maria Eça de Queiroz. In 1931, Alfred Kurella continued the criticism of social and political relations in other countries with his report on Italian fascism entitled *Mussolini without a Mask*.

From 1931 onwards the works of socialist theorists were also issued by the Universum Bücherei für Alle. Rosa Luxemburg's *Trade Union Work and Mass Strike* was represented as well as the first and second volume of Karl Marx's

Das Kapital, selected works by Lenin and a *People's Dictionary of Foreign Words* by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

To sum up, it can be said that the Universum Bücherei für Alle, with its literary programme and its journal, was in a position to impart progressive ideas to interested people, to practise extensive and convincing criticism of prevailing conditions and to point out possibilities for solutions which were essentially more purposive and radical then those of the other book clubs. The importance, however, which is often attributed to this organization in GDR publications—for example the description 'proletarian-revolutionary book club at the forefront of culture' (Lorenz 1983: 1)—appears to me to be an exaggeration. To exert a decisive influence on cultural life in the Weimar Republic and to mobilize progressive working people both to unite and to act were objectives which the Universum Bücherei could not achieve solely by way of its educational programme.

The Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde

In co-operation with the *Freie Arbeiter Union Deutschlands* (FAUD: the Independent German Workers' Union) the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde was established in 1929 as the last of the four workers' book clubs. It was the only one that from the very beginning turned to a proletarian public and the propagation of radical social change in its original launching statement. It regarded itself as an organization which made a contribution to the 'struggle for intellectual and social upheaval in all spheres of life' (*Besinnung und Aufbruch* 1929: 1/3). Its objective was the dissemination of the 'intellectual nourishment' which was necessary for the struggle and to promote the interests of 'libertarian art and cultural renewal' (*Besinnung und Aufbruch* 1929: 4/15).

The literary programme of this book club relied above all upon writers who were associated with the anarchist movement. To give a brief account of its ideological position some works are indicative. These would include Max Nettlau's *Anarchism from Proudhon to Kropotkin*, Alexander Berkmann's *The Act: Prison memories of an Anarchist*, William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, and finally Rudolf Rocker's *John Most: A rebel's life*. It continued on this course, although the production of books, as a consequence of the club's short period of existence and its constant financial problems, only amounted to some twenty titles.

The shining example of the rebellious hero did not really impress the working population very much, the dream-dancer's utopian vision of the libertarian state propagated by this book club could not offer a perspective to working people with their much more pressing day-to-day problems in the closing years of the Weimar Republic.

Ideological contrasts and attitudes towards National Socialism

Looking at the different currents and patterns in the development of the four book clubs, it is not easy to present a global characterization of their work. For organizations committed to the creation of a counter-culture, as they both proclaimed, the Büchergilde Gutenberg and the social-democratic Bücherkreis could only be distinguished from the bourgeois book clubs during the first years of their existence in terms of their non-profit orientation. Through their publishing programmes and their journals both made a contribution to the general education of workers which should not be underestimated. In both cases one can identify a clear radicalization in their objectives, which parallels the coming to a head of the political and economic crises at the end of the 1920s. From that point on, for example, more books appear in their programmes which contained analyses of social relations, reported on the struggles of other people, dealt with politics and the history of the workers' movement in other countries. The enlightenment and education of the working classes, together with sharpening of awareness regarding the fight against reactionary forces was at the forefront of the educational programmes of these two book clubs from 1929 onwards.

The Universum Bücherei für Alle, established in 1926, at first turned to progressive-thinking people and was more concerned with the dissemination of intellectual, socio-critical works. Representatives of the workers' movement were not to be found among those who signed the original launching appeal, and who were, without exception, internationally distinguished contemporary artists and intellectuals. Between 1926 and 1929 this club's reading public was directly confronted with sophisticated critical literature that looked outwards beyond the borders of Germany. As a target group for its literary and educational programme, the working class did not make an appearance before 1929. From that time on, however, the programme acquired a distinctly socialist identity and became increasingly

orientated towards the revolutionary overthrow of existing society.

Compared with the three other book clubs the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde assumed an 'outsider' position. From the very beginning, its programme sought to make a contribution to the dissemination of the idea of the libertarian state. Its production of books dedicated to the anarchist movement was unable to reach a broad public among the working classes. In comparison with the other book clubs its influence was very small—a conclusion which is also suggested by its membership figure of some 1,200 (Fähnders and Rector 1974: 146).

An indication of the membership numbers of the other book clubs is not easy to establish since very little of the original archive material has survived and the information in East- and West-German secondary sources differs significantly. In the first six months of its existence the Büchergilde Gutenberg had 5,000 members who mostly belonged to the printing trades. In 1928, the number of members amounted to 45,000 including 16,000 from other occupational groups (*Die Büchergilde* 1928: 4/64). Approximately the same numbers applied to the Bücherkreis, but, according to the GDR *Lexicon* of socialist literature, it declined in the years 1928–29. In 1932, the Bücherkreis still had 30,000 members, the Büchergilde Gutenberg on the other hand had 80,000 (*Lexikon sozialistischer deutscher Literatur* 1963: 502).

There is little information available about the initial membership of the Universum Bücherei für Alle. The *Lexikon* (1963: 502) mentions 20,000 members in 1929, 36,000 in 1931 and 40,000 in 1932. Willi Münzenberg, a member of the literary advisory board and director of the International Worker's Publishing House, reported however 15,000 copies of the member's journal in 1930, a number which would have corresponded to the actual number of members (Surmann 1982: 163).

But what became of these four workers' book clubs and their educational plans? The radicalization of programmes in 1929, which is evident in all four book clubs, demonstrates that they took into account of the gathering crisis. Their efforts to encourage the German workers to act by giving them examples of the struggles of the workers' movements in other countries were confronted by the growing strength of National Socialist forces. As it turned out, their educational programme could offer little resistance to the rising tide of National Socialism, and at the same time the book clubs grossly

underestimated its effectiveness in drawing on the masses. Three of the workers' book clubs were crushed in the full flow of their activity at the beginning of 1933.

The fourth one , the Büchergilde Gutenberg, tried to adapt itself to the new situation. In the New Year issue of its journal in 1933, it no longer spoke of enlightenment and education for the workers, of the renewal of society and the book as a necessary medium for achieving this. The work of the Büchergilde Gutenberg was praised on the grounds that, with its assistance, 'the delight of possessing books can be given to the working population' (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 1/4). It also refers to the 'proud awareness' that the Büchergilde Gutenberg made it possible for a worker to acquire a small library 'which will also continue in the new year to give hours of enjoyment and delight' (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 1/4).

Ignorance and political helplessness spoke out in Walther Victor's words for the New Year in this journal (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 1/6):

> The reaction has carried the day. The progress of culture is in danger, compulsory military service and *Zwickelmoral* [double moral standards] are approaching? [...] We do not have to worry about it. We keep on going. We do not have the time to stare at the wind that moves the flags. The free man bares his breast and walks straight ahead. The stronger the storm blows the better.

A similar underestimation of National Socialist forces could be noted among the other book clubs. Whilst the greater part of their production fell victim to the burning of books on 10 May 1933, the Büchergilde Gutenberg for the moment began to adapt, though if only in externalities, to the prevailing climate. In order to avoid National Socialist actions 'wider den undeutschen Geist' (against the un-German spirit), the journal, which had appeared up to this point in the roman typeface *klarer Antiqua*, was henceforth printed in the traditional black-letter *deutscher Fraktur*. In terms of content, learning from the history of other peoples was no longer an issue. Instead of this, works with 'anti-German tendencies' were struck off the list of publications; the Büchergilde Gutenberg was now prepared to promote only *deutsches Geistesgut*, that is to say German intellectual products (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 6/3).

From now on the worker was regarded as one 'who works for the nation', and who co-operates 'to shape the basis of our people's personality in a particular way' (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 5/82–83). The preview of the

programme of books notes only one condition for the selection of literature in the future, 'that it is equipped to awaken cheerful creative powers in us and to promote the whole of the people' (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 5/95–96). As a consequence, the Büchergilde Gutenberg regarded itself as accountable only to the German nation, and to ensure this objective it called in an expert. The responsible editor from now on was the National Socialist official, SA-Sturmführer Otto Jamrowski, who was characterized by the writer Max Barthel as 'a friend and companion of all creative working Germans' (*Die Büchergilde* 1933: 7/6).

None of the other book clubs shared this attitude. The social-democratic Bücherkreis still declared in its journal at the end of 1932 that it would continue in its aim 'To awaken awareness, to sharpen awareness, and to transform sharpened awareness into actions' (*Der Bücherkreis* 1932: 3/66). Bourgeois educational organizations were criticized as serving to deflect awareness, to distort education and to discourage. This clinging to the socialist idea without any proposal of definite steps out of the political and economic crisis led finally to a lack of perspective and helplessness in the face of the growing strength of National Socialism. Furthermore, the Bücherkreis lacked the broad support of the working population when it was faced with the onset of terror campaigns in 1933. The Bücherkreis was smashed, its reader, Karl Schröder, who organized the resistance with the Red Fighters, was arrested and sentenced to four years in prison. He spent part of this time in Börgermoor, one of the first concentration camps quickly set up in 1933 to house political prisoners. One is reminded of his lifelong commitment to the cause of adult education pursued through progressive cultural criticism by the fact that after the war he became director of the folk high school in Neukölln, West Berlin, an institution very well known, even beyond the borders of Berlin, for its many cultural activities. Schröder died in 1950 as a result of the illness which he had contracted during his time in the concentration camp.

A complete misjudgement of National Socialist strength was also to be found at the Universum Bücherei für Alle and the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde. Against the background of the elections in 1932, which gave the National Socialists 230 seats in the Reichstag and made them the strongest faction, the *Magazin für Alle* (1933: 1/3) printed an article which spoke about the working population turning away from fascism:

> The year 1932, which brought unemployment for many hundreds of thousands of people [...] despite all distress, brought an onward development in the history of the workers' movement. At every moment of opportunity the working population clearly demonstrated its will to fight against hunger and fascism.

This was not only a completely illusory assessment of political reality, it also misled the reading public through its simple denial of the real development of power relationships, that is the growing strength of fascist forces. Only two months later the Universum Bücherei für Alle was crushed by the National Socialists, its publications were forbidden or fell victim to the burning of books in May 1933.

Neither was the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde in a position to judge the actual balance of power. Indeed the failure to appreciate reality was openly propagated in its announcement in 1929 of an orientation towards works 'that lead beyond the banal prospect of reality' (*Besinnung und Aufbruch* 1929: 5/9). To what extent the guild actually ignored the rise of National Socialism is evident from an essay of 1933; there it was argued, among other things, that 'Especially in the Guild-work there must be soul, inner satisfaction, things that create an atmosphere of holiday' (*Besinnung und Aufbruch* 1933: 2/3). The programmatic outlook of this organization, facing on the one side into the past of the anarchist movement, and on the other side into the 'libertarian state' of the future, was not able to offer any perspective on the struggle against National Socialist control.

Conclusions

All four book clubs sought to make a contribution to a radical change of social relationships in the Weimar Republic by means of their educational programmes. These were based upon the publication and distribution of literature for the workers. Although each of them tried to achieve this in its own way, their common purpose was the education of the worker, who was regarded as an exploited and oppressed person, but who should be encouraged to come a recognition of his situation and be motivated to act. This conception was common to all the workers' book clubs. When we disregard the outsider position of the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde, differences existed only in very specific respects.

The workers' book clubs must be regarded in retrospect as important educational interventions in the cultural life of the Weimar Republic, intended to mobilize the German working class to action within the internationalist context of the struggles of workers world-wide. The selection, translation, publication and distribution of literature from a wide diversity of languages, cultures and social conditions in other countries was intended to disseminate an awareness among German workers of the available alternatives for the organization of society. In this respect, the activities of the book clubs have to be understood as an important contribution to an intercultural process based upon critical learning about the existential struggles of workers elsewhere. They also deserve positive appreciation in comparison with similar endeavours in other countries in this period, as ventures which constituted a coherent political education directed towards critical citizenship. In terms of their publication programmes and their active readership alone, they represented a very considerable volume of communication and learning among intellectuals and workers in the Weimar Republic. Although they may be criticized for their naivety and utopian bias, they can be favourably compared with efforts elsewhere to create a critical mass-democracy through the distribution of selected works from the international literature (Morgan 1989: 80–81).

The ideological project to establish some kind of internationalist counter-culture, as this had been formulated in Tucholsky's poem, and which was pursued more or less unequivocally by the book clubs, was also significant however for its failure to confront the realities of the economic and political crises in the final years of the Weimar Republic. Rather than internationalist intellectual concerns, the issue of day-to-day economic survival was the major priority of the working population. Whoever promised them economic security within Germany society could be sure of securing their approval and electoral support.

The often highly utopian, internationalist ideas of the workers' book clubs, as applied to the struggle for a better social order and way of life for mankind, were a clear demonstration that they had failed to come to terms with either the realities of the contemporary situation or with the more manifest needs expressed by the workers themselves. There was a complete lack of understanding of the state of mind of the 'oppressed working masses' as this was described, for example, by Wilhelm Reich (1933)—who was

himself thrown out of the Communist Party for his so-called 'a-political ideas'—and described in terms of the susceptibility of the workers to fascism and their usefulness to the regime.

The very simplistic calculation that the imparting of knowledge about his situation, by publication of selected internationalist literature, would lead the worker to fight for his own and for other people's liberation from misery and oppression did not work in practice. Neither states of mind nor the pressure of external forces in the German situation were adequately taken into account by the internationalists of the Weimar period.

However commendable the activities of the workers' book clubs might have been, they were able to achieve little in creating a realistic counter-culture to contest the prevailing bourgeois ideas of education. Taken as a whole, their educational work had little relevance to cultural life in the Weimar Republic. Their internationalist orientation towards a socialist society could not offer any practical perspectives to the German workers. The educational programme of winning the working classes for the achievement of a socialist social order by means of the publication and distribution of literature was unable to develop the kind of strength which would have been necessary to prevent the rise of National Socialism to power in Germany.

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9

Labour and Cultural Transfer: work camps in the West, 1918–39

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As an explanatory concept, the adjective 'cross-cultural' has a limited load-bearing capacity. The difficulties of that complex noun, 'culture', are well known (Williams 1976: 76–82). While the adjective 'cross-cultural' has the merit of acknowledging some kind of process, in practice it appears to possess a number of weaknesses. First, it tends to lead towards highly normative judgements, in which the 'success' of one cross-cultural bridge is contrasted with the 'failure' of another. Further, it renders tacit the question of agency: who, one wants to know, is doing what to whom? Who is lending, who borrowing, who insisting, who is playing, who is in dead earnest, and who is resisting in this process of cultural cross-dressing? Conventionally, moreover, the term has been used to denote exchanges between differing national cultures—and particularly different national cultures that differ from one another in obvious rather than subtle ways. Yet the concept of a national culture is itself problematic in important and interesting ways, not the least of which is that the transmission of 'national cultures' throughout the population can by no means be taken for granted, even in such a long-established society as Britain (Samuel 1989).

This chapter argues that 'cross-cultural' learning and education take place within the framework of the nation; indeed, part of their overt purpose may be to disseminate and embed a particular version of a national culture. I conclude, though, that 'cross-cultural' is too loose and all-encompassing a term to bear much weight of interpretation, and that comparative analysis therefore benefits little from its use.

Nationality, in contemporary capitalist societies, has been among both the strongest and the most fiercely contested influences upon individual identity. Characteristically, the symbolic markers of national culture are learned at an early age, chiefly through the primary agencies of socialization. In many nations, though, formal instruction is also given openly and systematically to induct the young—and also sometimes immigrants—into the symbols and rituals of national identity. Particularly since the Age of Empire, nationalist identities have contributed a highly significant shared understanding of one's self in relation to other members of the social order; and this has been as true of the post-colonial nations as of their one-time colonizers.

A second major source of learned collective identity in modern societies has been work. Whether as a complement, refinement or alternative to nationality, labour has since the Industrial Revolution been both a source of status and meaning, as well as of income; the workplace has been a rich site of cultural practice, as well as the background for technical tasks. Labour has also been the focus of social and political thinking, generating alternative conceptions of such fundamental categories of social regulation as justice, honesty, self-respect and utopian yearnings. Labour's significance for the present discussion is that, in certain ideologies, it has acted as the pole of a wholly cross-cultural identity, free from the narrow confines of nationality or race (communism, socialism and some versions of Christianity are examples). Labour has also, though, served as a pedagogic device for encouraging cross-cultural learning. Thus in communist ideology, the experiences of collective labour under capitalist regulation were inherently supposed to lead—with suitable guidance, of course—to enlightenment. Labour equally serves a pedagogic purpose in penal institutions, leading criminals to emancipation from their past. As a source of identity, then, labour is at least as ambiguous potentially as nationality.

This chapter is concerned with attempts to foster cross-cultural learning of new identities *through labour*. Its primary focus is upon the work-camp movement of the 1920s and 1930s. This was an international phenomenon, for state labour camps existed in such diverse countries as Australia, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand and the USA, as well as in Germany before and after 1933. Voluntary work camps existed throughout western society (Field 1992). These camps should be distinguished firmly

from concentration camps, which existed only in a small number of countries and served a purely punitive purpose. Lewis Coser (1990: 162–163) has said that concentration camps

> differ from other total institutions in one crucial respect. Whereas almost all others assert some moral or ideological claim that their inmates benefit from being confined there, concentration camps make no such claim [...] they were to bring about the physical and psychical destruction of their inmates in the long run and their maximum exploitation through forced labour in the short run.

While it is possible to detect some blurring of this apparently clear boundary, especially in the earliest days of the concentration camps, Coser is right in seeing their ultimate purpose as destruction—*Vernichtung*—rather than re-socialization (see Kaienburg 1991).

The focus here is on two dimensions of the work camp movement. In each case, the question put forward is designed to establish what cross-cultural processes, if any, were at work. First, was the rapid spread of work camp movements an example of policy transfer? Policy transfer has been a marked feature of governmental intervention in the labour market in the 1980s and 1990s, with several western governments repeatedly importing individual practices and policies from other national systems. Critics allege that political pressures to intervene in the troubled labour markets of contemporary Europe have been so intense that there has been little regard for the wider societal contexts in which were originally created the policies being borrowed (Keep 1991: 34–37). The evidence appears to suggest, however, that policy transfer was not a significant factor in the rapid international spread of the work camp movement. If the British case is any guide, work camps emerged not in imitation of developments overseas, but incrementally from earlier, largely *ad hoc* ventures in residential training.

Second, what are the connections between labour—the one central distinguishing social practice of the work camp system—and cross-cultural learning? Labour and residence were common to all camp movements, combined often with a degree of physical (and, more rarely, ideological) separation from the outside world. The intention was to construct a temporary learning community, designed to transform the identities of those who inhabited these transient educational settlements. We must of course distinguish between those alternative camping movements which

were attached to radical political groups of one kind or another, and those which were operated by the state; it is chiefly with the second group that this discussion is concerned, and the legitimacy of the state's involvement in work camps was by no means universally accepted. The evidence appears to suggest that the legitimacy of state-operated work camp systems was greatest where the pedagogic tasks of the work camps were substantially intertwined with the project of renewing and reconstructing specifically national identities. Those which had no such association, by contrast, lacked wider legitimacy, and in some cases were brought to a conclusion as a result. What can be concluded from this is not simply that cross-cultural teaching and learning frequently occur between different socio-economic grouping operating within the framework of the nation state; but that the nation state can itself be a critical variable in determining the outcome of teaching and learning attempts.

Labour camps: a case of policy transfer?

State work camp systems were established initially in reaction against abnormally high levels of unemployment. Chronologically, the first to develop appears to have been that set up from 1924 on by the British government, initially as a measure for the retraining of unemployed veterans of the First World War. Elsewhere the world recession was the decisive factor. Relief camps were opened in New Zealand for single white men in 1931, and the first Canadian camps were opened by the provincial government of British Columbia in the same year; a Dominion-wide scheme followed in 1932. In Germany, government financial support to the *Freiwillige Arbeitsdienst* (voluntary labour-ser vice) was available from 1931. In the USA, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—originally titled the Emergency Conservation Corps—opened its first camps in 1933. A system was established in Bulgaria in 1934. Thus in the course of a single decade, state-organized work camp systems were in existence across much of the capitalist world. Chronological proximity does not, though, necessarily imply the process of borrowing, conscious or otherwise.

Conscious policy transfer certainly played no part in the establishment of the British work-camp system. Instead, it developed incrementally and

organically from pre-existing forms of residential training for unemployed ex-servicemen—for example, the practice of public funding for 'farm colonies' run by church organizations in exchange for the retraining of unemployed ex-servicemen who were willing to emigrate to the Dominions (Davison 1929: 243). Much the same might be said of Germany, where Freiwillige Arbeitsdienst existed for some years before the decision of government to provide a subsidy; indeed, voluntary labour-service had emerged out of the existing work camps operated by churches, youth movements and political groupings (Bajohr 1980: 335–336; Dudek 1988: ch 7). Bulgaria's work camps emerged out of an existing scheme whereby young men lived in barracks and carried out public works. In each of these cases, work-camp systems emerged incrementally from pre-existing schemes.

In Canada, New Zealand and the USA work camps were established in order to provide unemployment relief. This is in some contrast to Germany and Britain, where unemployment benefit was available under the national social security system (Ritter 1983). It is notable that state relief camp systems grew rapidly within each of the three nations which operated them (Australia, where 'susso camps' appear to have emerged on a localized and largely *ad hoc* basis, seems to be an exception to this trend). In the USA, the first detailed proposals went to relevant federal ministries in April 1933; by 1 July, some 275,000 young men had been enrolled (Salmond 1967: 31, 45).

Does this capacity for rapid innovation provide evidence of American awareness of experiences in Britain? It seems unlikely. For one thing, the first study of the British system to be published in the USA did not appear until 1934, after the formation of the CCC (Hill and Lubin 1934); if internal reports and documents existed, they must have been compiled either in undue haste, or initiated under the Hoover administration, which seems unlikely. If there was some knowledge of the Canadian system, it cannot have been extensive; individuals in the US government may have known that camps existed in Canada, and tried to avoid the unpopularity which dogged their existence; but there were no sources to draw on for a systematic borrowing. For another thing, the decisive factor in the speed with which the CCC was established was the decision to develop the system through the Army, rather than build a new, dedicated infrastructure or use the limited resources of the Labor Department. At this stage of research, then, no evidence can be found for policy transfer; governments appear to have

responded rapidly to an immediate crisis, for which the existing relief systems offered no obvious solution.

If policy transfer was not at work, then, why did such diverse governments arrive at such similar solutions? In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the simplest answer is probably sufficient. In most western nations, social policy in times of high unemployment had traditionally sought to offer relief conditionally. In societies where work remained such a central value, the most obvious condition to attach to relief was an obligation to labour. Added to this was continuing concern over land settlement, even within urbanized societies such as Britain and Germany, together with fears that human capital was softening through lack of use; between them, these two factors had led in the nineteenth century to the establishment of 'labour colony' systems that certainly were discussed, and at times copied, internationally (Drage 1894). In certain governing circles in Britain, there was also a desire to strengthen the numbers of white settlers in the Dominions. Furthermore, work camps were routinely accepted in New Zealand and North America as a means of supporting a constant supply of labour to remote industries such as mining, logging and quarrying. Such 'native' explanations appear rather more convincing than policy transfer in shedding light on the rapid spread of state-organized work camp movements in the inter-war years.

Contemporary cross-cultural comparisons

Although work camps were established as indigenous systems, they did subsequently provide the focus for cross-cultural communication within both élite and oppositional groupings. Indeed, once labour camp systems were established, some degree of comparison was inevitable. Government departments had their own information systems, and certainly the British Ministry of Labour regularly distributed reports on developments overseas, both internally and through its *Gazette*. As the depression dragged on, and the search for policy solutions intensified, so rather more systematic comparative policy surveys began to appear. Surveys of international responses to unemployment regularly noted the existence of work-camp systems, often commenting upon their apparent efficacy (Hill and Lubin 1934; Royal Institute of International Affairs 1935; Burns 1941). Although these studies appeared relatively late, and had little discernible influence on policy, they

demonstrate the degree of interest among policy circles in the potential of residential work-based training for remoulding the identity of certain sectors of the population (generally, that is, unemployed young adult males). In turn, oppositional political movements also compared different work camp systems. Indeed, they did not merely comment—usually critically—upon governmental camp systems; many oppositional movements also used the opportunities of the work camp to build solidaristic identities among their own membership, sometimes on an international basis.

Most attention came to be focused on Germany. Here, and especially after 1933, international comparison was deeply charged. By the mid 1930s, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Freiwillige Arbeitsdienst had been mobilized in the service of the Nazi state; it was, indeed, renamed the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, and extended its recruitment well beyond the young unemployed to include students, apprentices and other young German men. In 1935, service became compulsory; by 1937 its contribution to Nazi ideologies of labour and national identity was such that its members provided the backbone of the public display at the annual *Parteitag*. Naturally, *Reichsarbeitsdienstlager* became showpieces of the Nazi State, placed on the itinerary of the more curious foreign visitor (Gough 1935: 105). It was perhaps inevitable that Reichsarbeitsdienst should become confused in the minds of many with the *Konzentrationslager*; but the two systems were in fact distinct and separate from one another, administratively and organizationally, but also—and most centrally—in purpose.

Konzentrationslager, as has already been noted, were concerned exclusively with the immediate exploitation and subsequent extermination of their inmates. Labour was enforced and intensive, and indeed punitive; it had no remedial intent whatever; indeed, it was often entirely without conventional purpose (Coser 1990; Kaienburg 1991). This stood in stark contrast to Reichsarbeitsdienstlager, whose inmates undertook labour whose purpose was the greater glory of the Reich, and who themselves were undergoing the experience in order to deepen and extend their shared identity as true Germans. Hitler's 1934 May Day speech expanded on the learning of social solidarity through collective labour (Noakes and Pridham 1984: 354):

> We want to destroy the arrogance with which unfortunately so many intellectuals feel that they must look down upon labour, and on the other hand we wish

> to strengthen in them self-confidence that they too can perform bodily work. But beyond this we wish to contribute to the mutual understanding of the different classes in order to reinforce the tie which binds together the community of the people.

In the Reichsarbeitsdienstlager, the inmates were supposed to undergo a positive, even joyful experience, strengthening their physical and mental well-being alike.

It is no surprise, then, that the Nazis deliberately fostered visits by foreign observers. This process started in the earliest days of the regime. One group of British adult educators from the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) had arranged a summer school in Germany in 1933; it found that the new Nazi government expected them to visit as planned, but with a much-changed itinerary. Instead of meeting German adult educators as expected (the *Volkshochschulen* were early victims of the new regime), the troubled British visitors were taken aback when they found that they were to attend a camp for the unemployed. Even more to their surprise, they were favourably impressed: here were young men, including unemployed graduates, working together to produce crops for subsistence and sale, playing together in the evenings, and even wearing the same clothing (a field-grey uniform that, it was solemnly reported, was being abandoned because the new government did not approve of its military overtones). What particularly impressed the WEA group was 'the democratic way of living—the Captain took his meals with the privates, and the Sergeant Major was on good terms with everyone' (Fisher 1933). Such responses were perhaps unremarkable in the earliest days of the Nazi regime; with the growth of the Konzentrationslager system, though, other German work camp systems came under question.

In some instances, indeed, there were deliberate attempts to blur the boundaries between work camp and extermination camp. Foreign communists in particular saw this as an opportunity to emphasize the similarities between their own government and German National Socialism. To take one example, the Royal Commission on Unemployment was accused by British communists in 1934 of adopting 'as their example the Fascist Labour Camps of Germany'; this in turn became evidence that 'this Government is moving rapidly towards Fascism in Britain', and it was quoted at intervals over the following five years. Yet the report of the Royal Commission—

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which did indeed offer praise for 'voluntary labour schemes' in Germany and Sweden — was published in 1932, when Germany was still a democracy and the Nazis had yet to seize power, let alone install concentration camps (Field 1992: 15–16). Similar comparisons with the Reichsarbeitsdienst, with the associated blurring of boundaries with Konzentrationslager, were made by communist-led unemployed movements in North America in order to bring discredit upon work camp systems in their own countries (Liversedge 1973; Howe and Coser 1974). As late as 1939, it was said by Wal Hannington (leader of the British unemployed workers' movement, and himself a communist) that 'compulsory labour-camps and task work centres means a big step nearer by the National Government to fascist administration in Britain' (Hannington 1939).

What is particularly significant in these episodes is not that communists lied (they were hardly alone in that), but that work camp systems conformed surprisingly well with the communist analysis of western capitalism. In every respect, the existence of work camps in capitalist societies confirmed the communists' hypothesis that western capitalism had reached a new phase: whereas nineteenth-century industry had needed skilled craft-workers, twentieth-century 'Fordism' was bent on destroying workers' ownership of skills, requiring only a supply of homogeneous, compliant robots. In this hypothesis, the state work camp might have been designed merely to subordinate the worker to the needs of the production line. It is less surprising, then, that communists should decide that the Nazi system was sufficiently discreditable to infect any work camp system by association. Democratic labour movements too looked at the Reichsarbeitsdienst with concern; the Left Book Club, for instance, published a detailed account of the movement as experienced by inmates, whose reports had been collected by surviving social democrats (Brady 1937).

Even secure and well-established governments became increasingly wary of the possibility of damnation by association. In Britain for example, government was reluctant to use its power to compel long-term unemployed men to attend a work camp, largely because it feared that this might give credence to communists' accusations that Britain was taking a softer version of the Nazi route to the subjugation of the working class. In 1933, the Ministry of Labour held a protracted enquiry into an application to attend a work camp from one R. W. Connelly of Leeds. According to the Leeds

divisional controller, Connelly was 'an associate of a group of local Communists who are extremely hostile to the recruitment of men to the Centres, which they describe as "Slave and Concentration Camps"'. To accept this man would, the officials warned, introduce a 'troublesome' influence into the camps; but rejecting him would provoke 'awkward questions on political persecution'. Eventually, the Ministry decided to accept Connelly then watch his behaviour; but by this time, he had found work (Field 1992: 127).

Official concern over the use of expressions such as 'slave camp' or 'concentration camp' continued, however. In 1935 Ministry of Labour officials monitored meetings of the Grith Fyrd organization, a proto-Green movement that ran its own work camps, and had asked that unemployed men be allowed to continue receiving benefit while living in its camps (Public Records Office, LAB 23/19, Reports of 18 January and 11 February 1935). Even towards the end of the decade, it was partly to counter the communists' claims that the Ministry of Labour started to publish promotional films and brochures which portrayed a life of 'Interesting work, carefully graded to individual capacity and condition, good wholesome food and plenty, comfortable quarters, recreation and pleasant healthy conditions' (Ministry of Labour 1939). Similar promotional materials appeared in the USA, extolling the virtues of CCC; the American audience appears to have responded rather more favourably than the British did to such blandishments (US War Department 1937).

If the Reichsarbeitsdienst represented all that was negative about work camps to third countries, the Civilian Conservation Corps enjoyed an extremely positive image abroad. Several British Conservative members of Parliament pointed to the CCC as a demonstration of what was possible in mobilizing unemployed young men; one returned from the USA bubbling with enthusiasm for what he called the 'Civilian Concentration Corps' (Anthony Eden), while a Mr De Chair described the CCC as an 'unquestioned success' and demanded to know why nothing on a similar scale existed in Britain (Parliamentary Debates, 4 May 1939). Invariably, the Ministry of Labour responded that circumstances in Britain were so different that the comparison had little practical value. That the CCC was generally held in high regard, especially in the political centre, was not in doubt. In the main, then, cross-cultural comparisons largely functioned as a contribution towards debate within the British context, and were generally refuted on the

grounds of contextual divergence; such scholarly comparisons as did exist appear to have had equally limited influence upon institutional practice.

Cultural and cross-cultural influences on identity

Work camp systems were concerned centrally with cross-cultural transmission. They were intended to foster new values and behaviour, and to sever or weaken ties with the cultural inheritance which trainees brought with them. Although this paper casts doubt on the value of the adjective 'cross-cultural' as a category of analysis in its own right, not least because it implies a simple transmission model of communication (see Glastra and Kats 1991), there are good grounds for seeing work camps as a site for cultural confrontation and engagement. In order to explore this complex and wide-ranging set of cultural processes, it is helpful to disentangle the concept of cross-cultural communication from a single-minded concern with lending, borrowing or transfer across *national* boundaries, which tends to take for granted the whole question of national identity. Furthermore, cross-cultural communication involves agency; this is particularly important in the case of educational communication.

From a British perspective, the conceptual disentangling of 'nation' and 'culture' raises important questions about culture and power in the 1920s and 1930s. In the first place, to consider the British government's work-camp programme in this light is also to remind oneself of the plural character of the British state. For one thing, work camp systems did not operate in Northern Ireland, which remained constitutionally outside the Ministry of Labour's industrial training programmes. For another, the Ministry made calculated judgements about where in Britain it sent its recruits: unemployed Scots went to Scottish camps, the Welsh to Brechfa and Shobden (the former in Wales, the latter in England but close to the border), Durham men to Hamsterley, and so on. However, overly-local identities caused concern to the Ministry, which found by experience that groups of recruits from a single city or district soon congealed into a strong sub-group within the camp; its response was to disperse men, but within an overall pattern of regionalized recruitment. The interplay between nation and culture identity, then, could not be taken for granted. Rather, it was itself subject to attempted manipulation by managing groups within the British state.

National identities played an even more important role in the work camp movements of Germany and the USA. In both cases, government work camps were established on a far larger scale than in Britain, and they were explicitly allocated the role of integrating into the wider nation those groups whose identity had been affected (negatively, in the view of the policy makers) by their exclusion from waged labour status. Work camps, by providing access to waged work, contributed a pedagogy for the rebuilding of individual identities. Both Reichsarbeitsdienst and the CCC also characteristically were spoken of by their defenders—including government officials—as pioneering movements, as movements of rediscovery of the 'real' nation which had somehow become soiled by the events of previous years. Work in these camp movements was typically concerned with the conquest of nature and the construction of national symbols: land reclamation, or national-park building, for instance. Here we see again the 'cultural within the economic': national identity had to be literally worked on, and actively reproduced.

Even more important, work-camp systems were concerned with gender identities. Perhaps the most obvious feature of the government work-camp systems were that they provided training for men. Those systems that accepted women set up specialized, separate institutions for women; and then trained the women in largely domestic skills, 'chaperoning' them to avoid unregulated contact with men (Bajohr 1980; Field 1992). For men, the whole purpose of the camp was to construct a masculine identity in distinctly non-domestic settings. In a work camp, the 'home' was for the most part transient—a tent or hut—and the tasks on which trainees spent their days were quintessentially outdoor activities: logging, road-building, quarrying, land reclamation. Men lived in the camps without women; their free time was taken up with masculine pursuits, whether officially organized (boxing, football, communal singing) or not (gambling, poaching, fighting). Prophylactics and contraceptive advice were available in CCC camps; otherwise, sexual contacts with women were ignored, as in Britain, or discouraged, as in Germany (and, indeed, in several voluntary camping movements in Britain). Pioneering belonged to an approved masculine identity; domesticity to womanhood.

All the work camp movements utilized the pedagogy of labour, placing work at the heart of the cultural transformations that they sought. It is

tempting to define this in terms of the social control thesis, according to which a group which is dominant economically and politically will seek to extend its hegemony in cultural fields. This might be described also as 'cultural imposition'. It is, though, critically flawed; it tends towards an unduly simplified functionalism, understating both the cultural resources of subordinated groups and overstating the coherence and cultural unity of the dominant. It flagrantly ignores the possibility that cultural dissonance may be as or more 'functional', in the conventional sense of the term, than homogeneity. Analysis of cultural communication in terms of 'cross-cultural communication' in its turn will tend to look for 'successful' examples of cross-cultural transfer (and, by implication, will identify 'unsuccessful attempts' where the original cultural model was rejected or modified by the host, leading on towards a deficit analysis of the communicative process). Such normative approaches to socio-cultural analysis are unlikely to prove helpful.

It is certainly the case that the authors of work camp movements intended cross-cultural transfer to take place. The cultures involved were based upon social class, and the intended transfer was of course of such cultural values as dignity in work to the sub-group of (unemployed) workers who inhabited the camps. Men from one sub-group learned by living and working under the close supervision and in proximity with men from another. This ideal type involved cross-cultural communication *within* the framework of the nation-state. Cross-cultural communication was part of the design. Whether the cross-cultural communication which occurred was of the kind intended is another matter; the evidence is that what was learned was often very different from what was intended. Even under controlled and isolated residential conditions, cultural colonization was resisted. What camp inmates learned was that (middle-class) camp officers could be manipulated, for example, just as officers learned from and about the habits and behaviour of their working-class charges. Unintended learning and resistance to cultural imposition were structural, not merely incidental.

The basic difficulty with the concept of cross-cultural communication is that it is too all-embracing. Any educational activity and institution—school, youth centre, university, reading group—represents a cultural intervention. In a culturally heterogeneous world, in which access to education is above all a source of social differentiation, educational practices

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cannot ever be anything but cross-cultural. As a concept, cross-cultural communication is in itself rootless and lacking in external referents. Recourse to communications theory may offer one solution to the difficulties which this poses (see Glastra and Kats 1991); a macro-level, societal approach would also seek to situate cross-cultural communication with respect to society's structures of status, power and domination. Education is not simply about communication as a neutral process; it takes place in a societal context where access to resources is differentially distributed throughout society, and where there are powerful forces seeking to communicate in order to manipulate and regulate the behaviour of others, who bring their own counter-resources to bear upon the process. Work camps can be understood as examples of the ways in which cross-cultural communication between different social strata is shaped and transformed in practice. Intentions are rarely realized in their original form; but this should be expected as the norm rather than the exception.

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10

'Folk High School' or 'Voluntary Labour Camp'? Residential educational provision for young adults in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1930s

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> The workers, who used to come to the Heim for a four-month course, showed in their faces and their attitudes that they had high expectations. The unemployed see it all as a last sceptical effort which they regard with suspicion and the expectation of new disappointments [...] When the teacher cannot convince them that the world outside is doing everything possible to find ways of putting an end to unemployment, then the work in the Heim is a laughable pretence. Think about this, you politicians.
>
> *Dr Eduard Weitsch, Arbeiterheim Dreißigacker, 1930*

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the development of residential education for young adults in Germany and the Netherlands in the early 1930s. In both countries the provision of diverse combinations of learning and work in residential settings became familiar during this period. These forms of education (or re-education) were but one element of the broader repertoire of responses to the unemployment associated with the severe economic crises from the mid-1920s into the 1930s. During this period, the 'folk high school' became a significant feature in the contemporary discourse and practice of adult education in Germany and the Netherlands. A recent contribution by Field (1992) examines the organization of work camps and land colonization. His treatment of this institutionalized 'pedagogy of labour' during the 1920s and 1930s is significant in that it does not refer

specifically to 'folk high schools'. There is adequate evidence in the German and Dutch secondary literature, however, to suggest that their development was intimately linked to and partially determined by the broader issues of unemployment, vocational training and the residential experience. Original research in the Netherlands has traced this relationship in the evolution of the first Dutch *volkshogeschoolen*, while the literature on Germany also suggests an intricate web of connections between *Heimvolkshochschulen*, work camps and the colonization movement.

Some of these connections are discussed here in a provisional attempt to reconstruct the development of ideologies and practices associated with the folk high schools in Germany and the Netherlands during the 1930s. This is not, in the narrow sense, a 'cross-cultural' investigation: at most it is a low-level exercise in the comparative study of adult education, which seeks to locate the development of one particular form in relation to social, economic and political, and ideological factors in two countries within a common historical period. The study explores: first, emergent German and Dutch understandings of the 'folk high school' as a form of residential adult education; secondly, the transformation of the *Heimvolkhochschule* in Germany into the provision of work camps; thirdly, the development of the *volkshogeschool* in the Netherlands in relation to work camps; fourthly, the empirical indicators of incorporation or relative autonomy of these practices within the systems of residential provision for unemployed young adults; and last, the relationships between the 'folk high school' movement and other broader adult education movements in the two countries.

The origins of Heimvolkshochschulen and Volkshogeschoolen

The first manifestations of residential adult education in Germany were a direct response to the German encounter with the effectiveness of the Danish folk high schools during the war of 1864. The post-war period saw the enforced closure of Danish centres, including the oldest one at Rødding, in German-occupied northern Schleswig, together with a ban on visits by native Danes living in this area to folk high schools in the rest of Denmark—although such visiting was openly encouraged by the Danish authorities. Up to the World War, folk high schools were established, with mixed success, in

Albersdorf, Tinglev, Mohrkirch-Osterholz and Nordborg (Brenner 1940: 28). These sought to work with the so-called *Gesinnungsdeutschen*—Danish speakers who shared pro-German sympathies—in order to prevent their undergoing counter-education as *Gesinnungsdänen* (Erdberg 1919: 118).

After the climactic period of 1918–21 the new, democratic Weimar Republic was characterized by a series of deepening economic crises in industry and agriculture, uncontrollable inflation, growing unemployment, unstable coalition governments, and a civil society dominated by competition between militant socialist and communist organizations, a nascent nationalism and resurgent confessional groups. These complex divisions exerted an immense influence upon adult education. Its ideologies and practices were fundamentally split between survivals of the pre-war 'extensive' movement, which represented 'the old direction of liberalism and of mass education within the workers' movement [...] partially rooted in the Enlightenment' (Friedenthal-Haase 1987: 22), and the rapidly developing 'intensive' movement, which was predominantly influenced by the *Neue Richtung* with its neo-romantic ideas of holistic, intensive, intuitive and personality-oriented education. Furthermore, in potential conflict with this new emphasis upon 'Bildung als Intensitätsverhältnis zur Kultur' (Röhrig 1988: 349–350), there was a strong socialist-humanist approach, which increasingly stressed international solidarity and secular progress within a conception of *Klassenbildung* in opposition to notions of *Volksbildung*.

Leading contemporary spokesmen of the 'intensive' tendency, including Brenner, Koch, Erdberg, Flitner, Picht, Rosenstock—and Tiedje (1927) who deserves mention as the somewhat controversial translator of Grundtvig into German (Friedenthal-Haase 1987: 13–25)—were all supporters of both the evening *Volkshochschule* and the residential *Heimvolkshochschule* as means of securing such diverse objectives as social co-operation, democratization and the remaking of national identity. The Volkshochschule made progress during the 1920s, and according to Friedenthal-Haase (1987: 16), 'In the course of a few years more than sixty residential centres and over 200 evening colleges were founded in Germany.' Despite the predominantly ecumenical or neutral standpoints expressed by many of the original supporters, actual development in the mid-1920s was influenced by continuing political and confessional divisions in society. Part of the trouble here was the struggle to win public funding under the terms of Article 148 of the

Weimar Constitution, which recognized folk high schools and stated that support for them was a government responsibility.

In this discussion the focus will be on the varieties of residential or Heim-Volkshochschulen (Sturge 1929). These included, first, colleges associated with the neutral or 'free adult education movement' which distanced themselves from religious or political partisanship. Among them were the well-known Dreißigacker (run by Eduard Weitsch), Sachsenburg, Comburg and Denkendorf, all of which had close relations with the Abend-Volkshochschulen in Thüringen and Württemberg (Weitsch 1928: 81–91). Their students were predominantly male, urban workers, and only Denkendorf accepted young women. Secondly, there were the left-wing residential centres, which varied from Christian Socialist, through Social-Democratic to Communist. Often associated with the trade unions of the organized working class and the political parties, they were much criticized by their opponents as partisan agencies for cadre-training (Brenner 1940: 106). Worthy of mention here is the Habertshof, from 1922 a Christian Socialist residential centre with close links to the trade unions (Blum 1930).

The Roman Catholic engagement with folk high schools, thirdly, was associated with the greater freedom Catholics enjoyed in the public and organizational life of Weimar (Brenner 1940: 112–116). It also marked the desire of the Church hierarchy to safeguard against unbelief among urban workers (Pieper 1929). This did not prevent the leaders of Catholic residential centres, the best-known being München-Gladbach and Paderborn, from co-operating with trade unions or from participating in the *Hohenrodter Bund* (Becker 1933: 6–10; Brenner 1940: 127–129; Koch 1927: 181–187). By 1930, there were ten Roman Catholic folk high schools in operation (Reisch 1931).

Protestant folk high schools, fourthly, were predominantly associated with the evangelical, Lutheran *Dorfkirche* movement (Dietz 1931). They concentrated on the rural areas and the farming population, as at Hermannsburg in Hannover, and their educational ideology emphasized a blend of religion and rural life as the basis of national identity. As was the case with the Roman Catholic residential centres, the Protestant centres became increasingly involved in the *Siedlungsbewegung* (land colonization movement) towards the end of the 1920s (Brenner 1940: 150).

Finally, there were the Nationalist residential centres, which concentrated

even more on the farming population (Brenner 1940: 67–96). This *völkisch* type of establishment has been described as 'generally nationalist, undemocratic, anti-Semitic, sometimes neo-Heathen, sometimes Protestant' (Friedenthal-Haase 1987: 22). Located predominantly in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony it provided the prototypical 'farmer's folk high schools', a movement with its own journal, *Die deutsche Bauernhochschule*, which regarded farmers, in the words of Tanzmann (1917), their foremost ideologist, as 'the foundation of the German way of life [...] the only group who have remained free of Jewish infection'. The motto 'Volksbildung ist Volkbildung' was most obviously brandished by this romantic, *Heimat*-dominated movement for nationhood (Brenner 1940: 67).

The first so-called *volkshogeschool* in the Netherlands, Allardsoog, near Bakkeveen in Friesland, organized a work camp for unemployed young adults for the first time in early 1932 (Wiersma 1932: 27–32). In the generally accepted interpretation, this initiative is associated with a 'direct' route for the importation of the Scandinavian model of folk high schools in the Netherlands during the early 1930s. Hake and Both (1991) argue that this view of an apparently belated development of interest among Dutch adult educators can only be sustained if one ignores an earlier 'indirect' route from Scandinavia, via Woodbrooke and Fircroft colleges in England, and the Dutch 'Woodbrookers' movement before 1920. Experiments in residential work were also undertaken by the 'folk houses'. In 1919, for example, the Folk House in Leiden was involved in the establishment of the *Vereeniging Buitenbedrijf* (extra-mural association) which organized residential weekend and holiday activities for the factory girls of the city. This association established its own residential centre called 'De Vonk' (The Spark) at Noordwijkerhout in 1918 (van der Heide 1930).

While the emphasis upon community, the cultural quality of life, and the rediscovery of nature for the urban working class was important to the Dutch folk houses, it also became increasingly evident in the organized working-class and women's movements (Hake and others 1985). The first weekend course for working-class male members of the *Sociaal Democratisch Arbeiders Partij* (SDAP: Social Democratic workers' party) took place during the 'International School for Philosophy' near Amersfoort in September 1922 (van der Heide 1922). The *Bond van Sociaal-Democratische Vrouwen Clubs* (union of Social Democratic women's clubs) held their first weekend

meeting during the summer of 1926 (Hake and others 1985), on the initiative of Hermien van der Heide who had recently become joint director of De Vonk. She described a two-week course in 1926 as the first adventure in folk high school work in the Netherlands and claimed this initiative for the SDAP in general and the *Bond* in particular (van der Heide 1926). A large financial gift from Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, its unpaid secretary, enabled the union to establish its own residential centre 'De Born' (the Source) in 1933 (Both 1989). De Born was only open during the summer, when two different types of activity were organized, three-day 'general courses' for all members of local women's clubs, and 'training weeks' for the active cadre of the local clubs and reading circles (Both 1989). During the later 1930s, residential courses for unemployed young women were introduced.

Within the Social Democratic movement another residential college was established in 1931 as the 'Troelstraoord' (Troelstra House) at Beekbergen. It was intended to provide residential cadre-training organized by the *Instituut voor Arbeiders Ontwikkeling* (insitute for workers' education) for the SDAP and socialist trade unions (Michielse 1980).

Although as early as 1926 van der Heide had claimed priority for the Social Democrats in introducing folk high school work, another claim relates to the *Vereniging tot Stichting van Volkshogeschoolen* (association for promoting folk high schools), established in January 1931 at Leeuwaarden. This was connected with the work of the van der Wielens, particularly Hendrik, who in 1930 bought a farm called 'Het Allardsoog' near Bakkeveen, Friesland, which he proceeded to turn into a community development centre for the surrounding rural area. With the important exception of van der Heide, none of those involved in the foundation of Allardsoog was closely associated with existing forms of residential adult education; rather they represented agricultural schools, village community centres and the folk houses. The intention was to establish residential education for the 'moral-spiritual development for adults as a foundation for the renewal of folk culture and the strengthening of the sense of national community' (Hake and Both 1991). This adaptation of the rationale of the Scandinavian folk high school to the Dutch context—to provide a regional centre for general courses, rural community development, and work camps for unemployed young adults—had more in common with Haitjema's proposals (Haitjema 1925), than with the ideas of van der Heide.

Hermien van der Heide's numerous visits to the Scandinavian countries, and a period at Woodbrooke, enabled her to make a most significant contribution to the Dutch discussion. Her numerous publications included reports of folk high school work in Denmark (1923, 1924, 1930), Sweden (1925), and Switzerland (1929), and she was closely associated with most of the initiatives in Dutch residential adult education between the two world wars. She soon realized that her own ideas, which were widely shared by the Woodbrookers and the Social Democratic movement, differed radically from those behind the Leeuwaarden *Vereniging*, and she quickly resigned from it, for reasons discussed below.

In early 1932 the first two-week work camp for unemployed young men was held at Allardsoog. This provision for young farmers, students and unemployed young men from the towns developed into a range of short and long camps throughout the 1930s. A second folk high school 'Diependaal' was opened at Markelo, Overijssel in 1938, while three others were at the planning stage. During the same period the work was also developed by Roman Catholics; their first residential courses were organized in 1933 and the first denominational school was opened in 1938 at the 'Drakenburgh' in Baarn (Hake and Both 1991).

Transition from Heimvolkshochschule to Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst

The challenge faced by the German folk high schools in the late 1920s and early 1930s derived essentially from the pressure upon government at least to be seen to be taking measures to cope with increasing unemployment, especially among young adults. This political debate became increasingly dominated by arguments for government support of work camps as an alternative source of labour. Such camps had been developed in Germany since the early 1920s under the *Notstandarbeit* (emergency relief work) and *Pflichtarbeit* (compulsory labour) for the unemployed. There were also many other work camps for young adults, run by voluntary organizations such as the churches and the youth movements, and very disparate in purpose (Dudeck 1988). According to Field's account (1992: 158), as a form of social movement they were often seen to constitute

> a free space for social experimentation, and a training ground for building new kinds of citizen. For some of the work camps movements the aim was to strengthen social bonds and give trainees a sense of self-value; for others, it was part of the process of nation building. For yet others it was a residential element in the wider process of popular education [...].

In other words, the work camps were marked by the same ideological and organizational diversity as characterized the folk high school movements.

There was also a vigorous development of the *Siedlungsbewegung* among the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Nationalist Volkshochschulen during the late 1920s. The interest in land colonization was largely stimulated by rural depopulation, resulting from the predominance of large farms and the migration to the towns of young farming people, and especially smallholders—a movement of two hundred to three hundred thousand a year, which only worsened unemployment among young adult males (Schneider 1928: 20–23). The Roman Catholic centres were largely associated with the farming population and they became increasingly involved in the *Katholische Junglandsbewegung*, a denominational youth land-settlement movement (Schneider 1928: 46–63). By 1931, no fewer than six of the ten existing Catholic Heimvolkshochschulen were predominantly involved in training young farmers from south-west Germany for the colonization and improvement of neglected areas in the east (Reisch 1931: 291–282).

A similar development could be observed on the Protestant side. From 1929 a number of *Jugendlandheime* were established, such as Sigmarshof near Detmold. These large residential training units aimed to select potential colonists, about a thousand a year, who would go on to specialized training and subsequent placement on the land (Brenner 1940: 150–151).

The lead had been given since the early 1920s, however, by the *Bauernhochschulen* associated with Tanzmann's extreme nationalist 'Heimat' movement. Tanzmann's own strategy looked to land colonization to resolve the problems of mass unemployment in the urban areas. He pointed to the fact that while millions of young Germans were without work in the cities, the large farmers in the East-Elbe lands employed half a million migrant Polish labourers (Brenner 1940: 149–150). When Tanzmann established the *Artam* movement in 1924, the aim was to retrain the urban unemployed and put them to work for at least one year with the *Junker* farmers in the east (Brenner 1940: 155–156).

As Dudeck argues (1988: 252), the response of government to this diverse movement was to seek to assert more control and to secure a more concerted provision. The Brüning government established an advisory committee to review Pflichtarbeit, labour conscription and colonization. One major result was that from June 1931 Pflichtarbeit was extended from the under-21s to all unemployed adults as a condition of benefit. Significant for the future development of the folk high schools was the introduction of limited state financial support for the *Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst* (FAD—voluntary labour service). The provincial and municipal governments were to be responsible for subsidizing the service, which was to be organized in the form of residential work camps. The provision of work, with the benefit of free lodgings and food, was intended to remove large numbers of the unemployed from the labour market (Field 1992).

Economic and political factors led adult education into an unavoidable engagement with this emerging system. Folk high schools proved to be extremely sensitive to a significant reduction in government subsidies for their established activities (Mann 1932: 403–404); furthermore, as wages fell and the working-week lengthened, they lost many of their traditional participants. Government subsidies for work camps rather than popular adult education as such, offered an attraction which the increasingly impoverished folk high schools could not resist. Mixed courses of employed and unemployed had already been reported in 1930, before the introduction of the FAD (*Freie Volksbildung* 1931: 180); by 1932 some centres were entirely populated by the unemployed. Contemporary observers noted that the introduction of the FAD in 1931 was a relief for many folk high school directors, who saw it not only as an alternative means of financial support but also as an opportunity to rise above ideological divisions and engage on work 'in the national interest' (Brenner 1940: 147; Laack 1932: 161–165). Many folk high schools became entirely FAD-subsidized centres for the unemployed. FAD itself expanded rapidly: by July 1932 there were 75,000 people in residential camps for periods between five and ten months (Laack 1932); the total reached 285,494 during the high-unemployment winter of 1932/33 (Nieuwhuysen 1939: 200), although by now most were involved in local rather then residential schemes.

The general change of direction in the work of folk high schools was obvious from the last volume of *Freie Volksbildung*, which continued to be

published until June 1933. Many of the major contributions during 1932 and early 1933 were concerned with the developments and problems associated with the FAD and practical work in adult education. Articles also considered the relationships with the colonization movement which was enjoying a renewed lease of life (see for example Bäuerle 1932: 252–262; Becker 1933: 6; Holtz 1932: 361–364; Laack 1932: 241–249 and 1933: 276; Laack and Weitsch 1933: 125; Mann 1932: 403–404; Rosenstock 1932: 279; Schie 1932: 365–375). Laack (1932) argued that the development of labour colonies could only be successfully developed on the basis of group-work and the residential principles of the folk high schools. However, it was also argued that this required co-operation with the FAD. The degree to which the German folk high schools were becoming increasingly incorporated in the FAD system is indicated by the response to proposals for a 'Werkjahr für Studenten'. In an article in *Freie Volksbildung*, Weitsch (1932) responded positively to a proposal by Chancellor von Papen that all students should be compelled to spend a whole year engaged in practical labour. The intention was that they would in this manner achieve a greater degree of social commitment and raise their national consciousness. Weitsch saw this as an ideal opportunity for the folk high schools to adopt a new and distinctive task within FAD structures.

How late in the day it was for the independence of the folk high schools became obvious in the November 1932 number of *Freie Volksbildung*. Even before the revolution through the ballot-box of early 1933, the editors of this major voice of adult education were forced to announce that it would most probably have to cease publication during 1933 owing to the decline in subscriptions (1932: 434). It was argued that a forum for discussion was no longer needed since the majority of those involved now regarded the FAD as the continuation and the completion of the folk high school movement(s) in Germany. The Bauernhochschulen were by now widely regarded as the key to future developments, with the work camps taking over the intellectually bankrupt, and socially disillusioned, activities of the residential folk high schools ('Richtlinien' 1933: 302–304).

In hindsight, it is obvious how wrong these contemporaries were shown to be when the National Socialists introduced compulsory labour service in 1933. Despite a temporary decline after the high-point of late 1932, the potential the National Socialists saw in the FAD was revealed when

compulsion was introduced for university students in the summer of 1933. This was one of the first moves towards the 'Gleichschaltung' of the FAD as a compulsory service. Although not as extreme in its intentions or consequences as the introduction of *Konzentrazionslager* in early 1933, intended for communists, socialists, trade unionists, intellectuals and artists, and operating under the motto of 'Arbeit macht frei', it did represent a significant intervention designed to link manual labour to political (re-)education. This major transformation of the FAD in the name of national unity went a stage further with its transfer to the Ministry of the Interior in July 1934. Its political and ideological purpose then became obvious. By mid-1935 more than seven per cent of the participants in FAD activities were either academics or students, a major over-representation given their numbers in the total population of working age. Conscription in work camps for young men between 18 and 25 was introduced in 1935, when the FAD nomenclature was changed to *Deutscher-* and subsequently *Reichs-Arbeitsdienst.*

The Dutch volkshogeschool and economic crisis

Attempts to trace the effects of economic crisis in the Netherlands during the 1920s and 1930s are to a large degree dependent on which 'crisis' is intended. Prior to the onset of large-scale industrial unemployment from 1929 onwards, there was a significant degree of agricultural unemployment in the Friesland and Groningen regions as early as 1924. Educational and governmental response to economic crises and the associated unemployment were, however, delayed until mass urban unemployment became increasingly troublesome. The lack of official interest in the provision of adult education was commented upon by many Dutch specialists at the time. In her report on the 1929 conference of the World Association for Adult Education, Jenny Kraft (1930) concluded that 'Our government stands alone among those of North, West and Central Europe in maintaining such a complete lack of interest in the education of adults.'

As the unemployment crisis deepened in the Netherlands, the belated response by government was to make provision not for education, but for alternative forms of labour. This at first found expression in the use of rural work camps to prop up the inadequate system of unemployment benefits for the urban unemployed. It mostly involved heavy manual labour in land

reclamation and improvement schemes near the German border, based on week-long camps to which the recruits returned after spending Saturday and Sunday at home. So there was often an additional burden of having to travel very long distances on foot or by bicycle or train to and from towns like Amsterdam and Rotterdam. These camps were clearly intended to remove the unemployed from the labour market and they had no specific educational purpose other than preserving a sense of work discipline (de Rooy 1979).

The development of a combination of work experience and education in residential camps in rural locations was predominantly directed at young, unemployed adult males from the urban areas. As suggested above, Dutch residential adult education can be traced back to summer schools organized by the Woodbrookers (Hake and Both 1991). The 'folk houses' were the first organizations in the Netherlands to do what Field (1992) describes as looking 'at settlement in reverse, bringing the people out of the slums and settling them in the countryside for brief spells'. From the mid 1920s to the early 1930s, the provision of summer camps for young adults was increasingly adopted by several youth groups associated with the working-class movement, the Socialist Party, student organizations and the churches. A special number of the journal *Volksontwikkeling* ('Popular Adult Education') in 1933 included reports on some of these activities (Banning 1933: 20–24; Gordeau 1933: 6–12; Proost 1933: 1–6; van Veen 193: 13–17; Verhoeven 1933: 17–20; Voogd 1933: 24–27). When in the mid 1930s government started to show an interest in this activity—the general level of unemployment rose from 7 per cent in 1930 to 33 per cent by 1936, reaching 60 to 70 per cent in the building trades—it turned to these experienced organizations in order to create new forms of provision (de Rooy 1979).

Provision for unemployed young adults manifested all the characteristics of the 'pillarized' structure of Dutch society (Lijphart 1972; Stuurman 1983). Each of the pillars, confessional, socialist and neutral, had its own organization recognized by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Evenberg 1988). These were respectively, the *Nationale Rooms Catholieke Commissie voor Jeugdwerkloozenzorg* (the national Roman Catholic committee), the *Centrale voor Werkloozenzorg* and the *Moderne Centrale voor Werkloozenzorg* (the central unemployment offices for Protestants and Socialists respectively), and the neutral *Federatie voor Werkkampen* (Federation for Work Camps). All government subsidies for residential work with young adults were

channelled through these organizations, as were the funds raised by the charitable organization known as the *Nationaal Crisis-Comité*, and by the *Landelijk Commissie ter Bestrijding van de Gevolgen van de Jeugdwerkloosheid*, the 'national committee for preventing the consequences of youth unemployment', which had been established in 1931.

Residential centres recognized for the purposes of subsidy included short- and long-term camps of a general nature; long-term camps combined with vocational training; residential courses for the older unemployed and their wives; and residential courses for domestic servants (Evenberg 1988). Criteria for the combination of work and education in the different kinds of camps were established by the Landelijk Commissie. In order to secure financial support from government, the fledgeling folk high school Het Allardsoog had to establish a position for itself in this system. This institution regarded itself as neutral and co-operated with other neutral organizations in the Federatie voor Werkkampen, a body which sought to break through the 'pillarized' structures of Dutch society and to bring together in a residential setting both older and younger adults from all levels and sections of the community.

From the first work camp in 1932 until 1938, these activities involved only men. In organization, a formal distinction was made by contemporaries between what was regarded as 'pure' folk high school work, and work camps for the unemployed (de Vries Reilingh 1945: 328–331). In practice, Allardsoog at Bakkeveen fought a constant, if lonely, struggle to introduce a stronger educational content into its subsidized work camps (de Vries Reilingh 1945: 333). This signifies a major difference from developments in Germany, where the Heimvolkshochschule identity was completely swallowed up in the FAD after 1933. During the early years at Bakkeveen attention was above all focused upon work camps with an educational component for unemployed youngsters, for which purpose financial aid was obtained from a number of municipalities and from the Nationaal Crisis-Comité (van der Wielen 1933: 267–273; Wiersma 1932: 27–32, 59–62, 176–183). Following the extension in 1934 of central government support to work with young adult males, Bakkeveen was successful in securing the modification of the forty-hour working week in a subsidized land-improvement camp to thirty hours of practical work and ten hours of general and vocational education (de Vries Reilingh 1945: 333–334). As government

intervention increased, the folk high school fought a rearguard action against the official attitude that work camps should provide only alternative manual labour.

Faced by continuing mass unemployment among youngsters, one contemporary spokesman of the Federatie argued that, 'Camps, which offer no education or training and provide only temporary labour service, are not acceptable under these circumstances.' (Guermonprez 1938) But official attitudes were also gradually changing. When Romme became Minister of Social Affairs in 1937, he expressed a view that work camps should also be concerned with the development of the personality of the young adult, thus approving a specific social-pedagogic element in their work (Romme [no date]: 26). Not surprisingly, this produced some criticism from the Socialists, who feared a move away from helping youngsters to find work, and from the neutral camp, who feared an increasing confessional emphasis and worsening social divisions (Evenberg 1988: 70–72). Eventually government decided, in 1938, that provision of work camps for unemployed young adults should be re-organized from the job-creation division of the Ministry of Social Affairs. At the same time the level of government subsidies was increased from three-quarters to the whole of the total costs.

In addition to short work camps, lasting two weeks and primarily devoted to manual labour, often involving construction work on the folk high school buildings, and longer work camps lasting five months, there were also winter courses of three months, later extended to nine months, for unemployed agricultural workers; local job-experience courses for unemployed young adults from the immediate area; and, much later, a concern with unemployed young women. The activities for young unemployed agricultural workers, organized in co-operation with the provincial government of Groningen and the *Groninger Maatschappij van Landbouw* (Groningen agricultural society), were directly connected to worsening agricultural unemployment during the 1930s. They were also related to activities which sought a solution through labour emigration and land colonization in other countries (de Vries Reilingh 1945: 334–337). The courses themselves were strongly orientated towards vocational skills, while the youngsters were encouraged to engage in exchange schemes with Denmark, Sweden, France and Germany (Haesaert 1939: 38–41). As Haesaert (1939: 38) observed,

> Dutch youngsters not only go abroad to learn about other countries and

> peoples or for their personal development [...] but also to settle there permanently. [...] As a consequence of its international links, the folk high school can sometimes establish direct possibilities for placement, but the primary task of the folk high school here comprises caring for the spiritual and cultural well-being of those who will settle elsewhere.

According to reports of research undertaken by the *Hooge Raad van Arbeid* (High Labour Council), it would appear that Sweden, and above all France were the preferred emigration countries in this period, although some early participants went to Germany (Haesaert 1939: 41).

Allardsoog only belatedly turned its attention to provision of work camps for unemployed young women. This was associated with the increased subsidies made available by central government for this kind of work in 1935 (Verbeek 1935: 117–150), and the subsequent establishment in 1936 of the *Algemeen Comité voor het Inrichten van Internaten voor de Opleiding tot Dienstboden* (general committee for establishing courses for domestic servants) on a neutral basis. Throughout the 1930s, many of the efforts to organize residential courses of this kind reflected a policy geared to training an adequate supply of young unmarried working-class women for domestic work in middle- and upper-class households (Evenberg 1988). Dutch public debate in this context was dominated, on the one hand, by the need to remove young women from the general labour market in order to create job opportunities for men (for example by sacking women teachers and civil servants upon marriage), which was endorsed by the male-dominated Socialist Party in its *Plan voor den Arbeid* (Plan for Work) in 1935; and, on the other hand, by the fact that forty thousand females, mainly Germans, were employed as domestic servants by Dutch households (van Lier 1936: 225–241). Given also the views of the confessional organizations that the employment of young, unmarried women in factories and shops left them open to the threat of 'moral degradation', domestic employment was considered as the most suitable option. A system of local courses and short-term work camps was organized, which performed, in effect, a selection function for those found to be suitable for training in long-term camps to become domestic servants (Evenberg 1988).

The confessional organizations gave broad support to this development, but it was left to the socialist *Bond van Sociaal-Democratische Vrouwenclubs* to argue that these courses should not constitute mere selection and training

for domestic service, but should provide continuation education and vocational training for young women who had only limited educational opportunities (Evenberg 1988: 69–72). The neutral Federatie, including the supporters of folk high schools, did not address this question until one of its affiliates, the *Amsterdamsche Maatschappij voor Jonge Mannen* (Amsterdam young men's society), established a section for young women in 1934.

In the meantime, the folk high school in Bakkeveen was establishing closer links with the residential courses for young women organized at De Vonk, by Hermien van der Heide, and at the Christian Socialist 'Heidehof' in Barchem, by Cor Wilbrenninck (see Hake and Both 1991). The first residential work camp for young women was held at Bakkeveen in 1937, when Cor Wilbrenninck left the Heidehof and joined the Allardsoog. This created an appropriate basis for the federation to respond very rapidly when the government announced, in 1938, its decision to increase support for residential camps intended for young women (Evenberg 1988: 73–76).

Incorporation or independence at the margins? Some quantitative indicators

In reconsidering the development during the 1930s of the *Heimvolkshochschule* in Germany and the *volkshogeschool* in the Netherlands, it is of some importance to assess these different phenomena within an empirical perspective. How important were these forms of adult education, for example, in terms of their own numbers and the numbers of the unemployed who were involved in their activities? The Heimvolkshochschulen enjoyed a far more firmly established role in the provision of adult education in Weimar Germany than did the early forms of residential adult education in the Netherlands. As Friedenthal-Haase (1987: 16) argues,

> Weimar was the period in which the Folk High School established itself definitively as the primary institution for adult education. [...] In the course of a few years more than sixty residential centres and over 200 evening centres were founded in Germany. Even if not all these schools were of long duration, this rapid expansion is a sign that the Volkshochschule was the appropriate institution for adult education in that period.

There is some confusion in the German literature about the total number of residential adult education centres active during this period. Adickes (1929:

191) makes a distinction between the Volksbildungsheime, as residential extensions of the urban Volkshochshule, and the Heimvolkshochschulen as such of which there were some forty-five. Other authors, such as Koch (1927: 175), Schneider (1928: 62) and Blum (1931: 60), report totals varying from sixty to eighty, including both of these categories.

In contrast to this rapid growth in Germany, only a very few Dutch adult educators, such as Hermien van der Heide, demonstrated a lively interest in the Scandinavian folk high schools or the development of Heimvolkshochschulen just across the border. As indicated above, and in more detail in Hake and Both (1991), the most significant innovations in residential adult education in the Netherlands, in addition to the work of the Woodbrookers movement, were the Troelstraoord and De Born, which were residential locations for the cadre-training of socialist trade union activists and the Social Democratic women's clubs respectively. It was only when German residential adult education was already engaged in its fateful encounter with the FAD that the Vereniging, the association for promoting folk high schools, was established in the Netherlands in 1931, while the first work camp was organized at Allardsoog in early 1932.

These very different historical trajectories are clearly reflected in the numbers of participants during the early 1930s. According to Laack (1932: 161), of the total number of 285,494 participants, all male, in the activities organized by the FAD in 1932, 75,000 were involved in residential work camps, largely organized by the Heimvolkshochschulen, with a duration varying between five and ten months. By 1937, the total number of males attending the compulsory work camps organized by the Reichsarbeitsdienst was 435,000, to which must be added 30,000 young women. This means that at its highest point, both the FAD and the Reichsarbeitsdienst, by then extending to Austria, reached 35 per cent of German youngsters, while 65 per cent of young men were involved in it (Nieuwenhuysen 1939: 247–250).

The mass character of the provision in Germany becomes even more apparent when compared with the record of the Scandinavian folk high schools between the two world wars. At its highest point, the Danish movement reached 15 per cent of all young adults and 23 per cent of those in rural areas. During the same period, the peak in Norway was 9 per cent and 20 per cent; and in Sweden, 6 per cent and 12 per cent (de Vries Reilingh 1945: 451–453). While these figures refer to voluntary participation, and

are impressive on that basis alone, nevertheless they fall considerably below those recorded in Germany, whether under FAD or Reichsarbeitsdienst.

In the Netherlands, the contribution of the two folk high schools at Bakkeveen and Markelo to the total effort to provide a residential experience for unemployed young adults must be regarded as marginal. Between 1932 and 1939, the total number of such participants in the work camps organized by the two institutions was 4,886—an average of 560 per year (Guermonprez 1986; de Vries Reilingh 1945: 338–342). This was little when compared with the total of 130,000 unemployed young adults in the Netherlands. And yet, given that the total of participants in general folk high school courses during this period was only 1,712, it seems plain that the work camps played a major internal role in the concerns and activities of these two folk high schools during the 1930s.

The 'folk high school' and adult education movements

Following the major split between the 'extensive' and the 'intensive' ideological movements in Germany in 1923, the intensive ideology, in its often divergent forms, dominated the debate about the Volkshochschule as the one most generally accepted adult educational contribution to the problems of economic stability, social harmony and 'national' recovery. The ecumenical orientation of many of the original supporters of the folk high school in Germany was already manifest at their first conference in Frankfurt in 1917 (Koch 1927: 58–71), and at the *Rothenburger Tagung* of 1918 (Erdberg 1919: 20–21). These meetings were attended by Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Liberals, Nationalists and Socialists. Between 1919 and 1921, there was a flood of German adult education writing, some of dubious quality, but all ecstatic in praise of the Volkshochschule (Brenner 1940: 161–165). At this point the influence of workers' organizations was uppermost and was expressed in terms of an 'extensive' adult education to be realized through the Abend-Volkshochschule. Erdberg (quoted in Koch 1927: 174) referred in derogatory terms to these demands for 'pure knowledge' as the last *Hexensabbat* (Witches Sabbath) of the extensive movement for popular education, while Picht (1919), although still a supporter of the urban Volkshochschule, argued that 'the expression of a personal meaning has to be condemned without exception' and opposed any partisanship in adult education. Such

supporters of the *Neue Richtung* were later to refer to this period as the 'Volkshochschul-chaos of 1919' (Brenner 1940: 41; Koch 1927: 82).

After the fundamental split of 1923 (Röhrig 1988) and until 1928, there were efforts to secure co-operation among the supporters of the Heimvolkshochschul idea in the Hohenrodter Bund (the *corps d'élite* of the 'new direction'). Most significant was the establishment in 1926 of the *Deutche Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung* (German institute for public research and adult education) with Flitner and Erdberg among the main activists. According to Fritz Laack (1930), 'The School was intended to undertake research on the questions posed by popular education in relationship to the life-worlds of the people and provide support for practitioners.' One of the first research tasks was the scientific study of 'Heimat' and 'Volkstum' in relation to the identity of folk high schools (Brenner 1940: 132–140). The Deutsche Schule sought to encourage exchange of experience among a broad range of the social professions—welfare workers, clergy, doctors, teachers, together with employers and trade unionists—whether they were popular educators or not. Despite obvious difficulties it secured some co-operation with confessional groups and workers' organizations (Laack 1933: 276).

Erdberg was also a key figure in the establishment in 1926 of the journal *Freie Volksbildung*, a development of the *Volksbildungsarchiv* which he had launched in 1909, and intended as a forum for the exchange of ideas and provision of useful information among practitioners in popular education.

It proved impossible, however, for the Deutsche Schule to achieve the degree of practical co-operation to which its leaders aspired (Laack 1933: 267). The two confessional camps continued to emphasize their own activities, and also engaged in competition with workers' organizations over the distribution of government subsidies (Laack and Weitsch 1933: 125). As an English visitor commented, 'What we in England would call a general principle for the work, is regarded suspiciously by many Germans as a disguised religious foundation.' (Sturge 1929: 22) The failure of these groups to find a common formula for folk high school work was to cost them dear when they were confronted with the emerging realities of economic crisis and mass unemployment in the years after 1929.

Nieuwenhuysen (1939) reported that many German folk high schools had little difficulty in giving up their traditional work and becoming

involved in FAD activities. Indeed, there was a view that FAD work was more realistic and purposeful than the endless ideological twists which had characterized folk high schools for so long. Their incorporation into the FAD was seemingly signalled by a proposal from the Commissioner for the Labour Service in September 1932 that they should assume responsibility for training the cadre for the FAD. Once again persisting ideological divisions worked against the folk high schools and they were not actually given this task—on the grounds that they shared too little common identity to serve the FAD in the coherent manner now increasingly demanded of a 'national' service (*Freie Volksbildung* 1932: 426–428). It is clear from the columns of *Freie Volksbildung* during its last year that leading adult educators regarded the FAD more and more as an ideal vehicle for 'Volksbildung', which was now to be achieved through co-operation of folk high schools with work camps and labour colonies. But the established agencies of adult education had arrived at an ideological impasse, and were unable to offer any coherent account of the (highly problematic) notions of 'Heimat' and 'Volk'. As a result young adults in Germany were now confronted with a form of residential re-education combined with hard work which served, according to one official British comment, 'in the spirit of National Socialism, to develop in the youth of Germany a sense of national solidarity, a true conception of labour, and in particular, due respect for manual labour' (Ministry of Labour, *Gazette* 1935).

The ideological categories of the 'extensive' and 'intensive' forms of adult education were not unknown to the discourse of Dutch adult education during the early 1930s. A great diversity of educational activities for adults had developed in the country from the 1890s onwards, largely based upon the workers' and women's movements; the voluntary efforts of liberal intellectuals associated with university extension, folk universities, 'Toynbee-work' in the folk houses, and the public library movement; and the confessional provision by the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Most of these activities were organized as courses of lectures, study and discussion groups, or self-study through the provision of cheap literature. From the late 1920s this diversity of local, 'extensive' education was increasingly put to use and adapted in the service of unemployed men, and often their wives too; the stimulus came from the support that larger urban municipalities gave to the work of *Comités tot ontwikkeling en ontspanning*

van werkloozen (committees for education and recreation among the unemployed), which usually included representatives of the various local agencies for adult education (Heijermans 1931: 208–211).

Although remaining largely marginal to contemporary practice in the Netherlands in the 1930s, the ideas of 'intensive' work were introduced into adult education discourse by the supporters of the volkshogeschool as they sought to distinguish their own approach from the so-called 'dilettantism' of the traditional forms of provision (Leemans 1939: 315), and in particular of the *volksuniversiteiten* (folk universities). In an important ideological restatement of the position of the Vereniging tot stichting van Volkshogeschoolen, Leemans (1939: 312–316) argued that

> the work of the folk high schools has to be contrasted with the work of the folk universities [...] whose work must be identified with a liberal-capitalistic perspective. They want the people to participate in the development of science and progress [...] and constitute the translation of 'rational humanism' into an educational movement.

He went on to contrast this 'extensive' movement with the 'intensive' educational practices of the folk high school, in which the emphasis was on a 'non-rational foundation which is located in the atmosphere of a rural, undisrupted way of life, which is not disturbed by the influence of science in our times'. He indicated the importance of the 'spoken word' and 'personal contact' in the work of the folk high school, which is not distracted by mere 'knowledge' but which is committed to 'life' and the development of a sense of community among people from different backgrounds. According to Leemans, 'It is not the temporary contact of the lecture which brings the people together here, but an educational programme combined with communal singing, dancing, play and also work.'

During the 1930s educational and political tension developed between the Vereniging, the folk high school association, and the social-democratic organizations, such as the SDAP and the Workers' Community of Woodbrookers, which had long been active in organizing residential education. Fundamental ideological differences over the principles and organization of folk high school work became manifest. It was soon obvious that the Woodbrookers and the Vereniging were not able to co-operate productively in the further development of residential adult education. The establishment of links between the Woodbrookers and the Association became the task of

Hermien van der Heide and Cor Wilbrenninck, on the one hand, and Hendrik van der Wielen, on the other hand. Hermien van der Heide agreed to join the Association but soon decided that collaboration was not for her; she resigned within a year, uncomfortable with the nationalist ethos the association projected. Her acquaintance with Scandinavian conditions persuaded her that the attempt to develop folk high school work on a sense of a common national identity could not succeed in the Netherlands, where, in her opinion, such a spirit did not exist. Visits to the religious folk high school at Sigtuna and the socialist folk high school at Esbjerg (van der Heide 1923) had led her to conclude that the work in the Netherlands should be based on distinct religious and socialist communities with a strong identity, such as the Woodbrookers. She expressed the view in 1931 that 'There is too little national unity to believe that a folk high school can reach the people as such.' (van der Heide 1931)

Such ideas did not harmonize, furthermore, with the Vereniging's condemnation of Christian Socialist separatism at this period. The election of Willem Banning, full-time secretary of the Woodbrookers, as a member of the central committee of the SDAP in 1931 was but one of many signs of the increasing Christian-socialist influence upon the social-democratic movement (Huijsen 1986). Van der Wielen was also critical of efforts, for example by the Woodbrookers, to associate adult education with religious renewal (van der Wielen and Doele 1935). It is reported that Banning subsequently referred to van der Wielen as 'a fantasist and charlatan' (de Vries Reilingh, quoted in Fiedeldij Dop 1990).

This criticism of the educational activities of the social-democratic organizations was also based upon the view that they were working for a distinctive socialist class consciousness rather than a unitary national identity. For this reason van der Wielen was unable to co-operate in practice with the SDAP and the Workers' Community of Woodbrookers. Leemans (1939: 313) implied a contrast with the Volkshochschulen in Germany: 'The folk high school seeks to free people from [...] the over-excitement of political parties and the extreme alienation in which the majority of the population finds itself despite the flood of socialist rhetoric.' Those associated with the new forms of residential education at Bakkeveen were also critical of the priority given by the SDAP and the social-democratic trade unions to educational work among the urban, industrial proletariat. They regarded

themselves as being more committed to developing a community education for the rural areas which would address the problems of poor tenant farmers, farm-labourers and the rural unemployed, problems ignored, in their view, by the workers' organizations.

In their commitment to a general and non-sectarian sense of national identity, the Bakkeveen group gave clear evidence of a nationalist and 'Greater Netherlands' ideology. As Leemans (1939: 313) suggested: 'It is a project of reconstruction: the will to place national unity at the forefront in a higher and broader form.' Van der Wielen himself had been an active member of the Dietist student movement which had cultural and political affinities with the Greater Netherlands idea and which supported the cultural aspirations of the Dutch-speaking Flemish population in Belgium. Although critical of the rise of National Socialism in Germany and the Netherlands, van der Wielen, de Vries Rielingh (who became the director of the second folk high school at Markelo in 1938), and Oscar Guermonprez (1935), a Belgian who played a significant role in the development of folk high school work in the Netherlands both before and after the Second World War, were all active in numerous national-unity movements during the 1930s. The first of these was the *Stichting Nederlands Volkskracht* (Dutch National Strength foundation), established in 1938 to support the work-camp activities of the folk high schools. In practice this organization became very rapidly involved in organizing educational activities for units of the Dutch armed forces which had been mobilized in April 1939 and stationed along the border with Germany (Guermonprez 1939: 15–19; 1940: 264–269). Many of those associated with the Vereniging were closely involved with the *Nederlands Unie* (Dutch Union) which was established in July 1940 following the German occupation. In 1941 Hendrik van der Wielen became the secretary of this body, which claimed to speak on behalf of the entire Dutch people and sought to distance itself from both pre-war political sectarianism and the Dutch national-socialist organizations.

Conclusions

The central purpose of this chapter has been a reassessment of the extent to which the *Heimvolkshochschule* in Germany and the *volkshogeschool* in the Netherlands helped to develop the residential institutions and practices

associated with the 'pedagogy of labour' during the early 1930s. Some new evidence has been offered to supplement the otherwise admirable comparative study by Field (1992). If one single conclusion stands out, it must be that, in Germany and the Netherlands, the development of folk high schools was significantly shaped by diffuse efforts to solve national problems of mass unemployment.

In Germany, the rapid development of the Heimvolkshochschule during the 1920s — with the influential backing of the 'intensive' adult education movement — was to end in a state of increasing powerlessness and disarray in the face of the twin scourges of persisting unemployment and the rise of National Socialism. Even before the Nazi takeover in 1933, the Heimvolkhochschulen associated with the 'free adult education movement' were becoming increasingly incorporated into the activities of the FAD. A steadily increasing involvement with camps and land colonization was even more characteristic of the confessional residential centres, which increasingly adopted a stance more usually associated with the explicitly *völkisch* Bauernhochschulen organized by nationalists like Tanzmann. Following the transformation of the FAD in 1935 into the Reichsarbeitsdienst, the folk high schools lost their last remnants of autonomy as they underwent total incorporation into the National Socialist system of work camps.

Comparable, if less cataclysmic, forces were at work in the Netherlands. Although much smaller in number — between 1932 and 1938 there was only one such institution — and in consequence far more marginal to the overall provision of adult education, the development of the volkshogeschool was dominated by the need to exploit the emerging system of government aid for work camps for unemployed young adults. The Dutch folk high schools may have been relatively unimportant in the total provision, but they were nevertheless incorporated into the governmental apparatus. Furthermore, they themselves initiated experiments in emigration and land colonization to deal with rural unemployment.

This historical circumscription of their relative autonomy as an experiment in residential adult education influenced and at the same time limited their impact as a 'neutral' organization upon a 'pillarized' social organization. A neutral stance, together with an associated 'Grundtvigian' claim to be reconstructing some sense of common Dutch national identity, was completely ineffective in challenging the managed pacification of the various

'pillars' of civil society. The Dutch folk high schools became an integral part of the neutral pillar and so were in effect incorporated in the system which they strove to overcome. They became a protected reserve of experimental tranquillity while adapting themselves to the needs of the system.

Although its importance is still not widely recognized in the partisan historiography of the folk high school movement in the Netherlands, it is highly significant that de Vries Reilingh (1945) entitled the closing chapter of his comparative study of the folk high schools in Europe 'The dilemma: folk high school or labour service?'. This title provides us with a significant reminder, by a contemporary observer, of the very real historical constraints and contradictions which faced those involved in the work of folk high schools in both Germany and the Netherlands during the 1930s.

In contrast to the often high-flown and idealistic statements of intentions and aspirations expressed by their proponents, the day-to-day realities confronting folk high schools in both countries were increasingly constituted by mass unemployment and the efforts of governments to introduce some degree of work experience for young adults. Although the internal discourse of the so-called 'intensive' movement within adult education in both countries was informed by diffuse utopian aspirations for a 'unifying' culture to be achieved through the residential experience, the external discourse shaped by governments concerned a more pressing demand to deal with the unemployed and maintain the will to work. To this end, the activities of the folk high schools were increasingly subsumed into state systems for the provision of work camps in both Germany and the Netherlands.

Although these systems differed quite radically after 1933, in their relationship to strategies for managing civil society, the incorporation of the folk high schools, whether total or partial, into the organization of work camps was the order of the day.

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11

Rolf Gardiner: an inter-war, cross-cultural case study

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Introduction

The name of Rolf Gardiner (1902–1971) is not a familiar one to historians of English adult education, nor indeed to historians of any other field—except of British fascism where he is noted (but little more) on the fringe of that section of the ultra-right not associated with Mosley and the British Union of Fascists.[1] More recently, historians of political ecology and environmentalism have also noted Gardiner as a pioneering figure in those fields.[2] It is largely in the context of the latter that I have begun research into Gardiner's life and thought. However, his later activities in environmental concerns cannot be divorced from his earlier involvement in youth movements and adult education: both were to him different facets of a lifelong commitment to improving the quality of human life as he saw it; and his extensive experience of Germany and contemporary German thought was integral to both.[3]

The justification for studying Gardiner in the context of adult education history is a matter of more than antiquarian curiosity. It may widen our perspective on the subject, the historiography of which—when not triumphalist—has been largely driven by a teleology of contemporary 'relevance'. In itself this is not surprising. Virtually all historians of adult education are or have been professional practitioners within it. It is understandable therefore that they should 'dig where they stand'. Furthermore they have predominantly stood in the tradition of liberal adult education, directed to the general advancement and enlargement of the mind; ostensibly at least,

open-minded and unprejudiced; strongly inclined to furtherance of progressive reform, democracy, and abolition of privilege. It is salutary to be confronted by an alternative vision of what adult education should be about: a vision that does not even use the liberal mantle to cloak, either consciously or sub-consciously, an élitist and reactionary agenda.

Second, Gardiner was among the most active cultural communicators between the German youth movement and Britain in the 1920s and early 1930s. He was not, perhaps, as exceptional as Laqueur, the most influential historian of the German youth movement, implies.[4] Yet that emphasis in itself demands a reappraisal of his importance. Gardiner was, however, the most active English supporter of the independent German youth movement in its *Bündische* phase (1923–33), and as the most detailed and considered English history to date of the German youth movement observes, 'the influence of *Bündische* Youth on adult education in Weimar Germany was considerable'.[5] In this particular field Gardiner was at the centre of Anglo-German cultural co-operation.

Woodcraft and 'Youth'

Rolf Gardiner was born in 1902, the son of the distinguished Egyptologist Sir Alan Henderson Gardiner. Most of his early childhood was spent in Berlin, where his father worked at the Kaiser Friederich Museum. He read languages at Cambridge, and it was there that he took over in 1923 the editorship of *Youth: An expression of progressive University thought*. The magazine, which had been founded in 1920 by the Cambridge Social Credit Study Circle, had strong leanings to Guild Socialism. Gardiner repositioned it as 'an international quarterly of young enterprise', strongly admiring of the 'German youth movements [that] have lit the beacon lights of a new civilization and culture'.[6] This short-lived venture was published in London and Leipzig by the International League of Youth. About the same time Gardiner joined the Kibbo Kift Kin, a breakaway group from the Boy Scout movement with strong Social Credit leanings, and a 'greater stress on the woodcraft, primitivist, tribal side of Scouting'.[7] Gardiner became Gleemaster of the Kibbo Kift before leaving in 1925 to seek his own following as a youth movement leader. 'Rolf was like that, you see', one former Kibbo-Kifter recalls. 'He had to be the big person, he was Napoleon — everywhere

he went, everything he did, the Kibbo Kift, everywhere, he had to opt out.'[8]

Though short, the *Youth* and Kibbo Kift phase was important in re-introducing Gardiner to Germany, and to key elements of the youth movement there. His editorship of *Youth* was also significant in that it brought him to the notice of D. H. Lawrence. Though their association need not concern us here, it did much to reinforce Gardiner's sense of destiny and self-importance. For example in March 1928 Lawrence wrote to him: 'leadership [...] is very nearly dead, save for Mussolini and you and White Fox and Annie Besant and Gandhi'.[9] Gardiner, one is inclined to observe with surprise, never quoted this compliment: but it only served to confirm his self-appointed role as the Anglo–German link for the Bündische Youth. As early as 1923 he had attended the North European Youth Assembly at Hellerau, near Dresden, and the following year he organized the first of a ten-year series of exchange visits between members of the *Bünde* and young English adults. In his own words, he returned from these earliest visits 'severely chastened':

> Everywhere we have seen a civilisation burnt out, hollow and futile. [...] This is the winter of our discontent and the approaching winter of Western Civilisation. [...] There will be wars, revolutions, and inexorable decay. Nothing, neither Leagues of Nations, Communism, Pacifism, nor any other ism can defeat the laws of life. This is the end, slower maybe in some parts than in others, but inexorably certain. The Caesardom of the great magnates will move from corruption to corruption, the masses from hopeless revolt to hopeless revolt. Meanwhile we shall at the same time be enjoying the delights of a mechanical Utopia; the prophecies will be fulfilled.
>
> There are millions of negative people in the world today. Robots: there are a few thousands of positive or semi-positive people. It is for some of these positive people that this paper is written. They will be found in the self-supporting communities, which are springing up here and there, all over Europe today; small groups of men and women who are actually living by the power of some new impulse within, living apart from the poisonous atmosphere of the big town, searching back in themselves towards a deeper contact with life.[10]

Though written when he was only twenty-one, all the principal features of Gardiner's subsequent thought are here: impatience with conventional politics and institutions; élitism; and an apocalyptic anti-urbanism and anti-industrialism (which predisposed him to be an ecological alarmist long before such a position became commonplace). The vocabulary and rhetoric

is that of Bündische Youth. The 'self-supporting communities' to which he referred included the Danish folk high schools, and the Meihof at Osterbeck in the Netherlands. But in particular Gardiner was referring to the *Siedlungen*, the educational settlements which were an important feature of the Bündische agenda.[11] Even here, Gardiner was highly selective about which projects he held worth noticing. However, he would himself be involved in the creation of two such 'islands of the Spirit' where 'the new Dark Ages'[12] would not prevail: the Musikheim at Frankfurt/Oder, and the Springhead Ring, based on his own estate in Dorset.

This venture was not simply the fortuitous consequence of his being given an estate by his uncle (the composer, Balfour Gardiner). Rolf Gardiner believed in the great estate as the anchor of the rural community, and in the function of its owner as the essential (but endangered) source of leadership in rural society.

> Tenant farmers and small occupiers are alike men of limited vision and limited credit. The great advantage of the active landowner is that he can see many issues simultaneously and co-ordinate them. [...] What is needed is a new generation of active young landowners devoting all their resources of time and money to the leadership of their estates and the surrounding districts.[13]

This has to be read against the background of the inter-war agricultural depression, and of a nadir in the financial fortunes of English landed estates (farm rentals were at their lowest point in 1936 since 1870).[14] The reasons for this depression are complex and need not detain this discussion. However, it is worth noting one popular, if largely erroneous, explanation which had considerable psychological appeal for Gardiner and others like him: the impact of officer fatalities in the World War upon the viability of the landed aristocracy and gentry. For example, he identified as the prime motivation among his Scouting contemporaries a shared 'feeling [...] that while their elder brothers were being killed in Flanders, they would be allowed to develop Scouting into the Rover stage and through it into a movement of reconstruction by the whole of post-War youth conscious of its responsibility as a generation'.[15]

Looking at the history of the Boy Scout movement, there may be much truth in Gardiner's observation that after the war it substituted 'sentimental heartiness for authentic spirit'. For Gardiner, however, there were additional issues. The place of Woodcraft within Scouting had been diluted, and it had

ceased to be an élite movement. In evolving into a mass organization it had become a 'stereotyped system of training, a complex of conventions, no longer novel, but accepted by all the elderly patrons of the status quo'.[16] This outlook was common among Kibbo-Kifters — an 'uneasy amalgam of élitist leadership with youthful rebelliousness', as it has been aptly described.[17] It was this that impelled Gardiner out of Scouting and into the Kibbo Kift, and thence into a closer relationship with the German youth movement. He saw this progression as a natural, seamless process, one that was evident in German youth movements too: even in December 1940 he was unabashed in claiming that the Hitler Youth 'on its healthy side owed nothing if not to BP, Hargrave and Seton-Thompson'.[18]

Gardiner and Germany

The discussion so far might seem tangential to adult education issues; but Gardiner and his circle would not have made a rigid distinction between *youth* and *adult*. Their usage of youth to denote young adulthood was one that was standard in Britain at this time, which was close to the Bündische category *Jungmann*, but which is now practically defunct in English: 'As Grundtvig, the father of the Scandinavian Folk School, pointed out 18–25 is the period when young people discover in themselves their purpose in life both as individuals and as members of their generation.'[19]

However, Gardiner's attempts to transplant the spirit and procedures of the independent German youth movement to Britain were dogged by an essential difference between the two countries. 'Youth' in Britain never attained a level of institutionalization similar to that which existed in inter-war Germany. Authoritarianism was less strong, 'the gap between youth and age is less sharp'.[20] The magazine *Youth* (re-launched when Gardiner left the editorial chair as 'the magazine of the British Federation of Youth') did not survive beyond October 1929. In the 1930s *youth* no longer seemed adequate to denominate young adulthood, committed as much of it was to distinctly political causes. Particularly after 1933, this left Gardiner searching as it were for both a theatre and an audience, lamenting that voluntary youth organizations had succumbed to the provision and training for a minority of adolescents. Until ecology and the environment came completely to occupy his energies, he found a theatre of a kind in the advocacy of

adult education for an élite of English youth along Bündische lines.

Gardiner was arguably the principal channel of communication between independent Bündische youth and its English sympathizers—particularly the *Alt-Wandervögel* and *Deutsche Freischar*. Like him members of these organizations tended to be simultaneously both liberal and reactionary, and anti-political in the party sense. His contact with the German youth movement was pursued in three inter-connecting ways. First were formal exchanges and congresses, such as the North European Youth Assembly of 1923, and the Festival of Baltic Youth at Tallinn, Estonia in 1929. Second were cultural tours of musicians and dancers. Gardiner led his first such expedition to Germany in 1922, and he organized German tours of England from 1926, starting with the mainly Wandervögel *Märkische Spielgemeinde*, a community choir from Berlin directed by a leading Prussian Wandervögeler, Georg Götsch, who became a close personal friend of Gardiner (and married the daughter of the Labour Cabinet Minister and President of the Board of Education, C. P. Trevelyan). Third, and most central to his mission as an educator, were *Arbeitslager* and *Arbeitsdienst*—work camps and work service.

In a paper he prepared for the second International Work Camps Conference, organized by the International Student Service at Seelisberg, Switzerland in 1937, Gardiner set out 'the triple function of Work Camps and Work Service in Europe': to be a vehicle of community experience and education; 'a platform of practical reconciliation between different social and national elements'; and an instrument of social and political change. These three functions, he argued, distinguished Arbeitslager from British 'Holiday Camps or Instructional Centres (*vide* British state "Labour Camps") which have either a purely charitable or a quasi-economic function and thereby lie outside the pale'.[21]

Gardiner led the English contingent which took part in the Deutsche Freischar Jungmannschaft camp on Lüneberg Heath in 1927, and he attended the annual Arbeitslager based at the Boberhaus, Löwenburg annually. He also attempted to introduce Arbeitslager to England, with the help of German contingents. The project was initiated with the first of a series of six camps in East Cleveland, North Yorkshire, in 1932: 'The triple basis of physical, intellectual, and artistic activity which was first worked out in the Arbeitslager of the Deutsche Freischar, was put to the test of English

conditions at the first camp—and proved fundamental to the success of the scheme.'[22]

In practice it proved impossible to persist with the Cleveland camps (which were based on a land reclamation scheme for the use of unemployed ironstone miners) without the co-operation of many of the agencies anathema to Gardiner. The State, for example, agreed via the local Labour Exchange to exclude miners' earnings from the land from the Means Test by which their unemployment benefit was calculated. Charity, in the form of a local Conservative squire, was needed to ensure the financial viability of the project. 'The WEA and kindred forms of adult education [who] simply do not meet the need' met the need for educational and cultural activities when each Arbeitslager ended. Adult education tutors from the University of Leeds were also involved. To make matters worse at a personal level, one of these tutors—David Ayerst—engineered the replacement of Götsch as musical director at the camps by the young Michael Tippett, whose politics, sexuality and musical interests were viewed with uniform disdain by Gardiner. (Tippett did however agree to travel to the Musikheim at Frankfurt/Oder to attend a course in choral singing and direction.)[23]

Gardiner withdrew instead to develop his Dorset settlement. Its curriculum was based on music and folk-dance (on which he was a considerable authority), in direct imitation of the Boberhaus and Musikheim. On this, within an overarching ethos of land service, were built activities in rural crafts and industries (notably flax), forestry and farming. Gardiner's intention was to offer not only the technical skills for rural reconstruction but also a general education for those 'aspiring to country-mindedness'. Over the ensuing decade he issued from here a stream of publications on the theme of Arbeitslager and Arbeitsdienst, and on the role of settlements like his own as 'a form of adult education [...] embryonic rural universities'.[24] He also issued a quarterly magazine *North Sea and Baltic*, designed to promote Anglo-German understanding and cultural exchanges. Gardiner saw the North Sea and the Baltic as the natural focus for a community of kindred nations. However, although he often cited the Dane Grundtvig as a source of inspiration, and maintained an extensive network of contacts in Scandinavia, the Baltic states and the Netherlands, his direct cross-cultural connections were almost entirely with Germany. The most profound influences upon his thought and practice were all German: Ernst Buske, Eugen

Rosenstock, Carl Becker, Adolf Reichwein and Georg Götsch.

Buske was one of the principal leaders of the Wandervögel and Free German Youth after the First World War, and shared responsibility for the amalgamation of the main Wandervögel and Scout organizations to create the *Deutsche Freischar* in 1927. The Freischar virtually collapsed following his untimely death in 1930. Gardiner first met him in 1925. His memoirs of Buske, incorporated into a tribute published in 1961, are too platitudinous to be worth quoting.[25] However, the following year he included Buske in a select group of 'remarkable older friends [...] like stars on a dark winter's night, shining inspiration and reassurance into one's faltering or frustrated heart'.[26]

When Gardiner learnt of Buske's death he was taking a leading part in an Arbeitslager at the Boberhaus, Löwenburg. Prominent among those present was Eugen Rosenstock (1888–1972) leader of the élite *Hohenrodter Bund*. Rosenstock is mainly remembered for his American career after he left Germany in 1933, first at Harvard and then at Dartmouth College. Although Gardiner was less effusive in his praise of Rosenstock than of his other Bündische mentors, they were probably the most similar in political temperament. Gardiner made detailed notes of Rosenstock's addresses to the 1930 Boberhaus Arbeitslager. Three themes stand out:

1: 'That the danger we [face] today [is] that young people were never taught to work, to *master* a handicraft.'
2: 'Ceaseless readaptation' is needed to confront Germany's destiny: 'the sin of the University was that it was no longer implicated in the work of readaptation; it did not help.'
3: 'The need was for a return to the small unit, decentralisation.'[27]

Rosenstock was the most prominent of the German contributors to a collection Gardiner co-edited in 1927, which was published with the authority of the main Bündische organizations.[28] Gardiner in turn wrote a chapter, 'Ordnung der Erfahrungen: Tagesordnung und Rhythmus in Arbeitslager', in a major collection on the Arbeitslager which Rosenstock co-edited. Other contributors to the 1927 collection included Kingsley Martin (later editor of the *New Statesman*); a senior diplomat, Sir William Montague Pollock; the historian G. P. Gooch (formerly a tutor at the Working Men's College and Toynbee Hall); and an authority on Italian music Edward Dent,

professor of music at Cambridge. The catholicity of this panel suggests that Gardiner was far from being marginal, and that his project attracted interest far beyond English *Völkisch* circles.

Among other contributors to the symposium was David Ayerst, (later an extra-mural staff tutor at the University of Leeds in the early 1930s). It is clear from his recollections of Gardiner, as well as from the latter's diaries, that the two men were associates rather than friends. What brought them together was a shared enthusiasm for the Bündische Youth, and in particular an admiration for Adolf Reichwein (1898–1944). Reichwein was another of Gardiner's guiding 'stars'. They had met through the Deutsche Freischar at Löwenburg. However it was Ayerst who—in the course of a research tour of German residential adult education centres—visited Reichwein's institution at Jena, where Zeiss factory apprentices lived and studied for a year before undertaking a lengthy expedition. 'Reichwein was a big influence on me', Ayerst recalled, 'and I had this dream that we might do a similar sort of thing in a small industrial town [in England].' It was mainly for this reason that Ayerst agreed to co-operate with Gardiner in his attempt to set up an Arbeitslager in East Cleveland.[29]

It should be noted here how powerful, even on the left of the Bünde and its English sympathizers, both *völkisch* and élitist inclinations could still be. For example in correspondence with Gardiner, Reichwein rather surprisingly used the pejorative *Proleten* to refer to his Jena students.[30] The socialist Ayerst was very dismissive of English city dwellers, in a way that reflected Bündische orthodoxy:

> How revolting the Cockney is when up against Nature. The feeling of frightened hatred expressing itself in endless purposeless noise was dreadful. They had no feeling of repose or of the dignity of Nature. In a lesser degree that spirit penetrates all classes—our own upper-class crowd at the hopping were not free from it. But the Germans are, and it is that which I feel is their greatest lesson for us.[31]

Reichwein was a close adviser of the liberal Prussian Education Minister (1921, 1925–30), Carl Becker. A former Wandervogel, Becker did much to support Bündische Youth, and he absorbed and implemented key aspects of its ethos into official policy. Becker was mainly responsible for setting up the Prussian pedagogical academies, to train elementary teachers by a quicker route than the universities, and in an atmosphere that cherished 'the

spiritual, ethical and intellectual values that lie in the inherited characteristics and *tradition of the nation* [Volkstum]'.[32] His sponsorship also assisted the development of the Löwenburg Boberhaus, and made the lavish Frankfurt/Oder Musikheim possible, whose director Götsch was Gardiner's closest Bündische colleague. A leading member of the Deutsche Freischar, Götsch was particularly influential in what Laqueur has described as the Bünde's 'real innovation': the *Jungmannschaft*.[33] This was an attempt to extend the idea of the Bond into young adulthood, combining youth movement activities with adult education. Laqueur is mistaken in exclusively crediting the expeditions of the Jungmannschaft as the origin of the idea of voluntary labour service. He may in fact have been swayed by Gardiner on this point. Internal evidence from *Young Germany* suggests that Gardiner was an important source in its compilation. He certainly felt that the Jungmannschaft, and especially the 1927 camp on Lüneburg Heath which he attended, was a watershed in the German youth movement.

Gardiner as an interpreter of Germany, and the problem of fascism

The extent of Laqueur's debt to Gardiner brings us to one of the central problems in an evaluation of him as an interpreter of the German youth movement to English audiences: how accurately did he reflect it? However faithfully Gardiner communicated the ideals and aspirations of German youth, his attachment was to a small part of it. The German youth movement was severely fractured along political, confessional, and regional lines. Though its impact on educational and cultural affairs was out of all proportion to its size, the Bünde accounted for little more than one per cent of organized youth in Weimar Germany.[34] Gardiner was utterly out of touch with organized Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Socialist, Communist, Anarchist, and (at least before 1933) Nazi youth. He seems barely to have noticed those parts of the Bünde whose views he did not share—for example the pro-republican *Neuwerk* movement and its Habertshof Siedlung in Schlüchtern, Hesse, possibly the best known of all the Bündische settlements.[35] More crucially his writings constantly imply that his limited, sectional knowledge was in fact representative of the German youth movements as a whole.

Within these limitations, Gardiner's writings provide considerable insight into the final phase of the independent German youth movement. His acquisition of Bündische mental furniture was almost total, so much so that one co-worker on the Cleveland camps, a Quaker schoolmaster, was convinced Gardiner was himself German.[36] In effect he spoke and wrote *Bündisch*, deploying ideas and a vocabulary that seem alien when read in a purely English context. To this extent he faithfully reflected the ideals of Bündische Youth. As Laqueur long ago recognized,[37] Gardiner was an important, and perhaps the principal link between this section of German youth and its English admirers. Not only did he participate widely in Bündische activities, he maintained an extensive correspondence with several of its key figures, and widely circulated information to an English readership. Unlike, it would seem, other Britons influenced by the Wandervögel and Deutsche Freischar, Gardiner maintained a high level of contact until late into the 1930s. On his initiative sword and morris dancers, mainly assembled from participants in the English work-camps, visited Berlin in 1936 to contribute to the cultural programme associated with the Olympics that year. Reichwein was a regular correspondent, 'in constant solidarity', 'from the heart in devotion', and visited England in 1938 to lecture at a summer school Gardiner had organized.[38] In April the following year the two men met again, this time in Germany. Gardiner was accompanying the agriculturalist (and prominent fascist) Viscount Lymington who was lecturing on soil erosion there.[39] Reichwein, though in quasi-internal exile as a village schoolmaster in Tiefensee, Brandenburg, was also acting as consultant to the *Reichsbauerntag* (National Farmers' Congress), and lecturing to the *Reichsnährstand* (National Organization of Agricultural and Allied Occupations). A letter from Reichwein implies that Gardiner was similarly involved.[40]

This episode belongs to the later phase of Gardiner's life when he became deeply involved in ecological and rural reconstruction issues, rather than to this chapter. However, it highlights a fundamental problem in the analysis of Gardiner's thought, and so too of the Bündische Youth itself: their relationship to Nazism. Some of Gardiner's English associates—notably Lymington—were unquestionably fascists; but this would appear not to be the case with his German circle. Buske and Becker died in 1930 and 1933 respectively. Rosenstock emigrated to America very soon after the Nazi

seizure of power; Götsch was imprisoned for most of the war; and Reichwein joined the anti-Nazi resistance and was eventually shot in 1944, having been implicated in the Army plot to kill Hitler.

One implication of this is that Gardiner did not maintain links of any substance with the Hitler Youth. However it is at present impossible to ratify this assumption. He ceased to keep his daily diary after the summer of 1930, and the periodic journals that replaced it either themselves ceased in March 1933 or have been destroyed. His correspondence, which is not yet available to researchers, might help to supply the gap, but it has been suggested that his widow destroyed some papers after his death. Equally suspiciously, Gardiner himself suppressed a great deal of information about his later links with Germany (including, for example his continuing friendship with Reichwein, and the Berlin visit of 1939) in the material and chronology upon which the posthumous anthology of his work is based.[41]

The suppression of information in this way has done a disservice not only to scholarship but possibly to the memory of Gardiner himself, since it may never be possible to clarify the nature and extent of his later German commitments. In the course of a careful evaluation of the connections between Bündische Youth and Nazism, Stachura observes:

> The ideas propagated in the movement cannot be said to have prepared youths to become, then or later, dedicated followers of Hitler, although they may have allowed them to become reconciled more readily to the Third Reich when it emerged than would otherwise have been the case.[42]

This may be true of Gardiner too: however, there is a pressing need for research into cultural (as opposed to political) communication between Britain and Nazi Germany, especially with reference to youth and adult education. As an assessment of Rolf Gardiner it therefore must remain strictly provisional.

Conclusion

Springhead, the nascent 'rural university' established by Gardiner on his Dorset estate, survives him as a charitable trust and independent field-studies centre, 'for groups concerned with inner and outer ecology'.[43] It is improbable that Springhead was the sum total of Gardiner's impact on English adult education, but that impact is extremely difficult to define. In

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part this is due to the current state of scholarship in the field: rural issues are relatively neglected in accounts of adult education policies and practices; we need to know more about the history of field studies within adult education, and of the evolution of residential centres devoted to them; the reactions of English adult educators to Nazi policies and practice in this field have yet to be explored. More generally, but remaining within the historical discipline, relatively little is known about Anglo-German cultural communication during the Third Reich, except for sport, classical music and fine art; and much remains to be established about the nature and potentiality of the non-Mosleyite far-right in inter-war Britain. For all these reasons this chapter can only end tentatively.

Quite apart from the apparently uneven survival of his papers, Gardiner's influence is also difficult to determine because his considerable private fortune meant he never had to be a professional practitioner, aiming for defined or tangible objectives. It is difficult to assess the wider impact of a personal enthusiasm, especially when that enthusiasm was derived from a sub-culture, and expressed in a vocabulary, foreign to most English. To read Gardiner is to be confronted by an extraordinary amalgam of ideas—some prescient, some archaic; some liberal, some fascist, some 'Green'; some élitist, some anarchic; some literally 'down to earth', and some intensely mystical.[43] Without a knowledge of the German context to his thought, one is tempted to dismiss him as an eccentric enthusiast for morris dancing, and the transformation of Country Houses into Centres for Adult Education.

Yet was he so eccentric, even on strictly English terms? Dorset squire though he might have been, Gardiner's was a counter-establishment voice. His vision of what adult education should be was a world apart from that of others in Britain who wrote specifically about rural adult education. He could never have insisted that 'the definite purpose of adult education in rural areas must be that of drawing members of classes—and through them the whole community—into the main streams of civilisation'.[45] For Gardiner the process would have to be reversed: the products of so-called civilized society needed to stand outside the urban/industrial system, 'lay the foundations of a new social order by creating entirely new examples of the use of leisure, of the relation of work to play and of skill to materials [...] be engaged in the *Re-creative* life of the nation, in its spiritual and cultural *Re-production*'.[46] Gardiner's need not have been a voice crying in the wilderness.

His vision was not so far from that of William Morris, and it related closely to the deeply rooted ruralism within English culture and letters, a phenomenon that was particularly powerful in the inter-war years.[47] Closer attention to the curricula of the more innovative adult education of this period may yield closer affinities with Gardiner than might ostensibly seem possible.

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8 Interview with Wilfrid Franks, 4 November 1988.

9 D. H. Lawrence to R[olf] G[ardiner], 4 March 1928, reprinted in Aldous Huxley (ed), *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (London, Heinemann, 1956 [first published 1932]), 704–705. 'White Fox' was the woodcraft name of Hargrave, founder of the Kibbo Kift.

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11 Stachura (1981), 51–52.

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16 As note 15.

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18 Gardiner (1940): B[aden] P[owell] was the founder of the Scout Movement, Hargrave of the Kibbo Kift. Ernest Seton-Thompson was the founder of the North American Woodcraft movement, and a major source of inspiration to both BP and Hargrave, see Rosenthal (1986), 64–81.

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39 The Earl of Portsmouth [formerly Viscount Lymington], *A Knot of Roots: An autobiography* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1965), 81–83, 160.

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41 *WSG*.

42 Stachura (1981), 67; see also Laqueur (1962), 197–198, 217, and also 243 for a similar view of Gardiner and Nazi Germany.

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12

Contested concepts: the development of education in British India from the early years to 1920

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The ideology and the practice of education lay at the centre of social and political development in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Indian nationalist movement grew from the interaction between educational development and the practice of British rule: and from this movement, of course, came eventually Independence in 1947 and the dominance of the Congress Party.[1] Adult education in India must be seen in this wider context if its full importance and ideological roles are to be understood. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the growth of education in India concentrating on the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, and to contextualize ideologically subsequent and more detailed discussion of adult education itself.

Education in India, prior to British involvement, was rural and religious. It was also structured absolutely within the caste system. F. W. Thomas, writing in 1891, described the position as follows:

> The lower orders were entirely uninstructed. The castes of middle rank, including the land-holding and trading class, received a scanty and, in the case of the Hindus, strictly commercial training. Every Brahmin was able to read and write, and there was a considerable body of men of this class [who had] obtained considerable eminence in such special studies as grammar, logic, rhetoric, mathematics and metaphysics.[2]

In this tradition, religious questions were central. Education was construed as individually-centred, and concerned essentially with the 'large questions' of the meaning of life and the means whereby human beings can distance

themselves from material concerns and concentrate instead upon the spiritual and the metaphysical.[3]

One of the major effects of British rule in India was to introduce a wholly different Western, rationalist and secular concept and practice of education. And this in turn was intimately connected with the rise of Indian nationalism, as is discussed below. However, it would be quite mistaken to view this process as a straightforward conflict between an indigenous spiritual tradition and an explicitly secular British 'import'. In fact, the original British motivation for educational provision was itself primarily religious. In the early years of the East India Company, virtually no attention was paid to educational questions.[4] It was 'a primarily commercial concern';[5] though even in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there were numerous unofficial Christian missionary activities. In 1659 the Court of Directors of the Company explicitly stated their objective of spreading Christianity in India; and in 1678 Parliament inserted the 'missionary clause' into the Company's charter.

This early missionary activity had little concern with wider educational issues, was restricted largely to support for a small number of charity schools, and overall had little impact. However, it laid the foundations for subsequent educational development. In 1792 Charles Grant put forward to Parliament a passionate advocacy of evangelical work in India. Through this process of Christian-centred education, based on 'correct mechanical principles' as well as on the 'reading of the scriptures', India would be led forward to a new civilization. 'Idolatry with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its dying legends and fraudulent impositions would fall.'[6] With strong support from William Wilberforce, this view was incorporated in the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813 when the ban on missionary activity was removed, and there thus began the real drive towards missionary education in India.

The ideology underlying such missionary zeal was a fairly crude form of cultural imperialism. However, from the beginning, the religious foundation was combined with English ideas of both liberal education and vocational training. The directors of the Company were somewhat reluctant to give their support to the extreme evangelism of Grant and his kind, but

they could see the sense in providing instruction in English language, mathematics, history, geography and other basic subjects. Such provision would provide a supply of English-speaking Indians for the growing number of clerical and related posts in British India. Colleges for these purposes—a mixture of Christian religious instruction and English language and other subject education—were established in the early nineteenth century in Calcutta, Agra, Benares and Delhi. In Bombay, the governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, gave more emphasis to vernacular, as opposed to English language, education, which he argued should be left to the voluntary sector.

Although Elphinstone's influence was short-lived—he retired in 1827—his views highlighted a continuing controversy within the movement for educational development in India in the nineteenth century. The 'Anglicist versus Orientalist' debate was closely related to an equally important and divisive issue: should education be aimed at an élite, who would then be expected to educate the masses (the filtration theory), or should mass education be the immediate objective? The first of these issues was clearly resolved in favour of an English orientation, with profound consequences for the nature of the subsequent nationalist movement. The second issue has been persistently disputed right through to the present day. Given the scale of the educational problems to be addressed there has been a tendency, since 1947 as much as earlier, to opt for variations on the filtration model. This accounted for the British government's concentration on the 'pinnacle' of the hierarchy—the universities, and, next to them, the secondary schools. Primary education was virtually ignored. This hierarchical model also dovetailed naturally with both the ideology and the structures of English education. It is in this contested area that adult education in India has made one of its major contributions, primarily through literacy provision.

The decision to introduce a positive programme of English education was taken in 1835: 'a momentous step taken by the British raj'.[7] Lord Macaulay, who was President of the Committee of Public Instruction in the 1830s, was a prime mover in the 'Anglicist' movement. Writing in 1835, Macaulay stated that, although he had

> no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic [...] I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.[8]

This strongly Anglicist view of educational provision was combined, from this period onwards, with an explicit avowal of the importance of training a new stratum of educated Indians to assist in governing the raj. Charles Trevelyan, for example, wrote in 1839 that:

> We want native functionaries of a new stamp, trained in a new school; and adding to the acuteness, patience, and intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the people which may always be expected in natives, some degree of the enlightened views and integrity which distinguish the European officers.[9]

Sir Charles Wood's famous dispatch of 1854 (and the subsequent Act giving force to his proposals) reiterated these points, acknowledged that in principle the government was responsible for popular education, and advocated the establishment of education departments in each of the territorial divisions of British India. However, Wood also recognized that, whilst the élite should be taught in English and should be enculturated into European civilization, 'the only medium through which European knowledge could be communicated to the masses was evidently one or another of the vernacular languages of India'.[10]

The latter half of the nineteenth century thus saw a huge increase in educational provision in India at all levels. From a minimal base before 1850, there were, by 1885, seventy-eight arts colleges and a further twenty-one professional colleges, with a total of over nine thousand students. By 1902 there were 140 arts colleges with over seventeen thousand students. There was a similar growth in the number of secondary schools: by the early 1880s there were 486 such institutions with over sixty thousand students. There was also a great increase in Indian non-government-aided colleges and schools. From eleven such colleges in 1882, these expanded to 53 in 1902 with 5,800 students.[11]

Three important and related points should be made here. The system that evolved in these years was closely modelled on the British, not only in its curriculum content and ideological orientation, but also in its hierarchical and élitist structures. A small number of universities was created in the nineteenth century (initially, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857), all on the British model. These formed the 'apex of the educational pyramid in each region [...] the Universities exercised a decisive authority over the teaching in the colleges and schools that lay within their ambits'.[12] They determined

the curriculum, the priorities and the overall direction of all other forms of education. Secondly, despite Wood's intentions, it soon became evident that 'practically all the institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and science'.[13] Thus the expansion of Indian education strongly reinforced the cultural imposition of British ideological values and substantive curriculum content at all levels. A new Indian middle class, steeped in veneration for things British, was created in these years. 'For most of British India the University system with all its shortcomings symbolized the high promise of British civilization to a decadent, impoverished, caste-ridden people.'[14] Thirdly, despite this rapid growth, the numbers involved were only a tiny proportion of the total population and were also confined almost exclusively to the great urban centres. With a population in the late 1880s estimated at almost 200 million only one person in 3,300 had experience of secondary education, and only one in 22,000 experience of college or higher education.

It was the creation of a new educated, indigenous middle class in India in this period, which provided one of the key elements in the Indian nationalist movement and, ultimately, in the Congress Party that was to dominate Indian society and culture in the period leading up to Independence in 1947. Before reviewing educational development in the twentieth century, therefore, we should look in more detail at the nature of this new middle class and the ways in which its socio-economic and cultural context gave rise to what became a vociferously nationalist and anti-British movement. A starting point is to note that, contrary to British intentions and subsequent statements, the government education system was confined largely to the Hindu population. The Moslems increasingly organized their own educational provision (and the Christian missionary societies also energetically developed their own structures through the nineteenth century, with a naturally strong emphasis upon Christian evangelism). From the outset, the Moslems found the Eurocentrism of the governmental structures alien and unacceptable. The growing separation of the educational structure between the two communities thus presaged the disastrous divisions which were to ensue at the time of Independence and beyond. The Hindus who became involved in the new educational structure were predominantly from the middle ranks of the caste system. Very few of the wealthy, 'aristocratic' sections of Indian society took part in these developments.

The nationalist movement that emerged from these origins was thus very much a *trahison des clercs*. Not that the majority of the educated cadres in fact became clerks: 'despite a widely prevalent view to the contrary the great majority of graduates were to be found in the professions rather than in the public service'.[15] These included law, medicine, civil engineering and education. One of the key legacies of the élite English model of education is thus immediately apparent. The Indian educational system, like the British, produced predominantly arts-educated students who aspired to professional or service occupations rather than technological or productive roles. The result was to produce the painful paradox of an increasing number of relatively highly educated Indians unable to find suitable employment, in a sub-continent desperately short of trained and qualified (or even basically literate and numerate) human resources. As the number of such educated Indians grew year by year so 'the struggle for lucrative positions grew ever more arduous'.[16] From this situation there arose, as McCully puts it, 'an educated class, talented and capable, ambitious to achieve, but frustrated by bureaucratic selfishness and the failure of those in high places'[17] to provide openings into the higher echelons of Anglo-Indian society. It was from this frustrated and increasingly disillusioned group that the movement for Indian nationalism grew in the early twentieth century. It is interesting to note that a very similar analysis of the French 'events' of 1968 was made by Regis Debray!

The British raj became aware of these problems in the last years of the nineteenth century. Lord Curzon became, in 1898, the twenty-fourth governor-general of British India and immediately identified education as a priority policy area. 'Curzon believed that the first and foremost cause of political unrest in India was "the education we have given to the people of the country [...] " his education reforms were also politically motivated.'[18] Curzon's first target was the reform of the universities to bring them under greater direct control of the British government by reforming radically the composition and size of university senates. The worst fears of the Indian radicals were not justified, however. In each of the senates the Indian members constituted a 'working majority' over the Europeans (for example, Calcutta had forty-one Europeans and forty-three Indians, and Bombay forty-one Europeans and fifty-nine Indians). In effect, Curzon's attempt to control the universities was unsuccessful.

A similar pattern was true also of the attempts to control secondary education. Curzon, and later Hardinge, tried to bring schools under government control. The 1913 Education Policy resolution and proposed University Bill, for example, proposed bringing the schools wholly under the control of the Education Department. These proposals were seen by Indian radicals in Bengal as 'taking away from the Universities the right to recognize schools and to replace the matriculation with a school final examination [which] would cripple the sphere of activity at Calcutta University'.[19] As had been the case earlier with Curzon's attempts to bring the schools under government control, Hardinge backed down and withdrew the bill. 'Despite Government efforts, recognition of schools continued, except in a few instances, to be a power vested in the Universities [...]. Measures to keep students out of politics also proved ineffective.'[20] Indeed, the first stirrings of the Gandhian nationalist campaigns, involving students, took place in the early 1920s.

The British government realized the dangers of these failures. The measures of control they proposed could have been imposed had sufficient conviction and force been available and used. Autocratic rulers like Curzon did not lack conviction; nor did they have any moral or political misgivings about explicitly imperialist rule and the suppression of Indian freedom. However, by the early years of the twentieth century it was already evident that the British raj had neither the military and social control forces, nor the political and ideological hegemony, to ensure the long-term viability of imperial rule.

By the time Curzon became governor-general, the British had come to think that vernacular education for the mass was at least as important as the Anglicist, élite education—particularly given the experience of nationalist sentiments amongst the latter. The 1913 resolution on education policy emphasized the importance of vernaculars. Despite this, according to the English rulers, there was, initially, little demand from the indigenous population which wanted instead English education, seeing this as an entry to the social hierarchy. However, 'from the initial, almost blind, admiration [for English education] the attitude of many Indians to English had turned to one of growing dissatisfaction'.[21] But vested interests, and the scale of the resources needed for proper, mass provision, determined that no real progress was made.

Growing alongside the largely unsuccessful moves towards vernacular education was the determination of Curzon and his successors to change the emphasis in education so that technical education enjoyed equality of esteem and resourcing with the traditional liberal arts education imported from Britain.[22] Curzon intended to devote resources to basic technical education for the masses, not higher technical education for the élite; but progress was very slow indeed. Much of this was due to the inherent conservatism of the governmental structure of the raj; but much was also the result of the bureaucratic and parsimonious policy and processes of the home government in Britain. Thus, for example, the India Council in Britain opposed the introduction of free primary education in 1911–12, and it also rejected Hardinge's proposal for a major grant for technical education. (In Curzon's view, the whole apparatus for governing India was 'a mighty and miraculous machine for doing nothing'.)[23]

Despite all these problems, education expanded markedly in India in the early twentieth century. By 1920 the total number of pupils and students was approximately four million: double the number of fifteen years earlier. In 1898 there were five universities: in 1922, twelve. Between 1896 and 1922 the number of arts colleges increased from 115 to 152, and the number of students from 13,933 to 45,224. Perhaps most striking of all, given India's poverty and backwardness economically, was the relatively high number of graduates. By 1920, 0.25 per cent of India's population had received a university education, compared with 0.54 per cent in England and Wales.

This growth, though, took place on the foundations of the largely *laissez-faire* system established by the British in the nineteenth century, and concentrated upon Anglicist, arts-based curriculum and approaches, and a 'top-down' élitist system. The attempt to introduce wholesale government control of education over the entire sub-continent, initiated by Curzon and pursued by his successors, was unsuccessful. This was due partly to logistics, partly to the lack of adequate resources, partly to governmental conservatism, but above all to the declining political power of the British raj through the early years of the twentieth century. 'Indeed, the great interest taken by the Government in education and its fear of the political potential of the educated classes was itself, in a sense, an indication of [the British raj's] loss of power .[...] The seemingly autocratic British raj was by this time neither omnipotent nor omnicompetent.'[24]

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What then, finally, was the role of adult education in this process in the period under review? In the nineteenth century, adult education *per se* received virtually no attention. As Nurullah and Naik point out, although there had been 'a few night-schools [in the] very early days [...] these were primary schools conducted at night rather than adult classes proper'.[25] These were concerned exclusively with the most basic literacy instruction and were attended by male labourers. The 1882–83 Commission found most evidence of such provision in Bombay (where 3,919 adults were attending 134 vernacular night-schools), and recommended that such provision should be encouraged elsewhere. Although examples are to be found in succeeding years 'very few practical steps were taken to develop the movement' and, 'between 1902 and 1917, the movement declined still further'.[26]

In 1919 the government introduced the Government of India Act, which in effect devolved considerable responsibilities to the provinces and to Indian officials and politicians. The act created a 'diarchy', or rule of two, whereby the governor, as head of the provisional government, was responsible for certain reserved departments, and in conjunction with the appropriate ministers, was responsible to a provincial legislature with a large elected majority for the transferred departments. It was under this rather cumbersome system—which was of course a move towards power-sharing between the British raj and the indigenous population—that Indians first obtained control of the Education Department. And it was in this new context that adult education, in the form of a coherent plan for literacy programmes, became a significant part of educational provision in the years from 1921 onwards.

The period from 1921 to 1947 and Independence will be discussed in a subsequent article. The conclusion that can be drawn from this brief study of the years prior to 1920 is perhaps that British education in India reflected the fractured ideological structure of the domestic practice. Liberal educational principles were, in Britain and India alike, contradictory in their advocacy of both élitism and hierarchy, and free-thinking and radicalism. Moreover, in the Indian context, the British approach with its contradictory ideological stance, was often ill-fitted to the objective needs of the people, and led to unintended consequences—the most dramatic of which was the rise of Indian nationalism. In this sense, education in India in this period can only be understood in the wider political context. Given its inability to have

much effect on the masses, its importance lay in its role in informing the embryonic nationalist movement—which was itself the 'cumulative result of the total impact of British rule—economic, social and political'.[27] The nationalists were of course instrumental in achieving independence from the colonial power, but they never came near achieving liberation for the masses, either educationally or socially. The nationalist movement was thus at one level the ideological product of colonialist education, the principal difference being that they wanted to replace the colonial government with nationalist, home rule.[28] In this important sense, education had a pivotal role to play in the 'process of nation-building'[29] which began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and reached full fruition in the years leading up to 1947.

References and Notes

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2 F. W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15.

3 For a positive articulation of this view, see chapter 1 of S. C. Dutta, *History of Adult Education in India* (New Delhi, Indian Adult Education Association, 1986).

4 See S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India* (Macmillan, 1951: first edition, 1943).

5 Nurullah and Naik (1951), 52.

6 C. Grant, 'Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and on the means of improving it', *Parliamentary Papers* 1831–1832, VIII (734), 1792, general appendix 60, cited in McCully (1966), 62.

7 A. Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920* (Oxford University Press, 1974), 1.

8 Cited in McCully (1966), 69.

9 C. Trevelyan, 'On the education of the people of India' (1839), cited in McCully (1966).

10 McCully (1966), 139.

11 Statistics taken from McCully (1966), Nurullah and Naik (1951), and Basu (1974).

12 McCully (1966), 167.

13 Nurullah and Naik (1951), xviii.

14 McCully (1966), 174.

15 McCully, 191.

16 McCully, 193.

17 McCully, 202.

18 Basu (1974), 9. The quotation given is from L. Fraser, *India under Curzon and After* (1911), 181.

19 Basu, 55.

20 Basu, 56–57.

21 Basu, 77.

22 As far back as the 1880s, the Education Commission had recommended such developments, but to little effect.

23 Letter from Lord Curzon to George Hamilton, 1902, cited in Basu (1974), 95.

24 Basu, 230.

25 Nurullah and Naik (1951), 741.

26 Nurullah and Naik, 742–43.

27 Basu, 234–235.

28 This is well represented by Ranjit Guha, an exponent of contemporary, radical Indian historiography. 'There are several versions of this [élitist] historiography,

but the central modality common to them is to describe Indian nationalism as a sort of "learning process" through which the native élite became involved in politics by trying to negotiate the maze of institutions and the corresponding cultural complex introduced by the colonial authorities in order to govern the country. What made the élite go through this process was, according to this historiography, no lofty idealism addressed to the general good of the nation but simply the expectation of rewards in the form of a share in the wealth, power and prestige created by and associated with colonial rule; and it was the drive for such rewards with all its concomitant play of collaboration and competition between the ruling power and the native élite as well as between various elements among the latter themselves, which, we are told, was what constituted Indian nationalism.' Ranjit Guha, 'On some aspects of the historiography of colonial India', in R. Guha and G. C. Spivak (eds), *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford, 1983), 38.

29 Basu (1974), 236.

13

The Introduction of University Adult Education into Anglophone Africa: the case of Ghana

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The period between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s saw the end of the British colonial empire in Africa. During that time universities were created in the colonies as a necessary part of the educational infrastructure which was held to be essential to an independent state. In each of these universities a department of adult education was established. The first ones were set up in the colonies and protectorates of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. This chapter will study the processes by which this happened in the latter, their purposes and the factors which influenced them.[1] It will attempt some evaluation of university adult education in the period up to independence and in the years immediately following it, during which the colony of the Gold Coast became the Republic of Ghana. In order to avoid confusion henceforward the term Ghana will be used throughout this paper (except in titles), both for the pre- and post-independence territory.

The transfer of university adult education to Ghana

Ghana, like Nigeria, differed from other British colonies in Africa in that university adult education was introduced before university-level education itself arrived. In Ghana the first experimental classes were conducted in 1947, whilst the University College of the Gold Coast (later the University of Ghana) was not set up until the following year. These classes were conducted by a tutor of the University of Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural

Studies, J. A. McLean, sent out from England specifically for the purpose. The response they received[2] encouraged the Delegacy to dispatch David Kimble, another of its staff tutors, to undertake a longer-term programme, his salary and expenses to be paid by the Government of the Colony.

He arrived in 1948 and in 1949 his work was incorporated into the newly founded University College, with Kimble himself, on a three-year secondment from Oxford, appointed as the first Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies (from 1954 the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies). In fact he stayed in this post until 1962, having left the Delegacy to become a permanent member of the College staff. During his tenure he established a network of university extra-mural provision throughout Ghana, which grew and flourished through the early 1950s, and largely maintained its position in the years up to and following independence, which was achieved in 1957. Its organization, purposes, contents and methods were avowedly modelled on the British practice of liberal adult education, developed through the collaboration of universities with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) from the beginning of the twentieth century to the Second World War. This pattern continued essentially unchanged, although it appears to have been under increasing strain in later years, until Kimble's departure.

If the account is stopped there, one appears to have a clear case to demonstrate that, under certain conditions, it is possible to transplant successfully an educational practice from one country to another, contrary to what received ideas about cultural borrowing would have one believe.[3] Strictly speaking, of course, what happened in Ghana was not cultural borrowing, since university extra-mural work was not brought into the country on the initiative of native Ghanaians; it was not their idea. Nor was it introduced at the request of the British colonial government in Ghana; there is evidence that some officials there were very dubious about it.

On the other hand, it did not constitute cultural imposition. Certainly it was introduced by members of the colonial power, coming in from Britain, originally at the suggestion of British army personnel, who were not permanent residents of Ghana, but only temporarily stationed in the country during the Second World War. The people responsible for the introduction of university extra-mural studies did not, however, force them upon the country. Before any courses were offered the Secretary to the Oxford Delegacy, Thomas Hodgkin, visited Ghana in order to assess the

reception that they were likely to receive. He consulted both colonial officials and educated Africans. On receiving a favourable report from him[4] the Delegacy began operations with McLean's experimental lecture series.[5] Only after the latter's experience had confirmed the Secretary's impressions that there was an African audience eager for such educational provision was Kimble sent out to undertake a longer mission and that was originally to be limited to a three-year secondment.

Both on grounds of principle and practical policy the Delegacy had to be assured of the existence of a public who would willingly take up extra-mural studies when they were offered. It was fundamental to the concept of adult education as it was understood in Oxford and in Britain generally that the participation of adults in education should be voluntary. Secondly, even if that had not been so, there was no way people could be obliged to take part. Education was not compulsory in Ghana and Africans had shown that they would not accept what they did not want. Colonial authorities had for many years attempted to favour education with an agricultural and technical bias, more in tune with the country's needs than academic education on the British model. Although their assessment of the colony's economic needs was no doubt soundly based from an economic point of view their efforts had met with disappointing results.[6]

So what took place in Ghana was an example of cultural transfer, neither borrowing nor imposition. By what may be seen as a series of happy coincidences, an offer of adult education of a particular kind came to be made to a location where and at a time when there were people who were ready for, if not actively seeking, educational assistance. On the record of the University extra-mural department/institute a similar public continued to exist for at least fourteen years and to use that organization to meet its needs.

Society and nationalism in Ghana

What was the situation in wartime Ghana and the immediately succeeding years, which, as perceived by British visitors, inspired the extra-mural initiative and provided conditions in which it could flourish? Since the end of the Ashanti War in 1874 it had been under British rule. As in other colonies, nearly all major posts in government, public administration and

services, and in the large British business organizations which dominated the economy, were filled by expatriate Britons, who constituted their own social group, separate from the African population. Native Ghanaians were restricted to subordinate posts. According to the British policy of 'Indirect Rule', at regional and local levels native administrative structures were retained, giving a certain degree of power and prosperity to chiefs, whose claim to status and authority derived from pre-colonial practices. Below these two power structures lay the lower management and office employees of government and business, together with merchants and shopkeepers. At the bottom were the peasants and migrant labourers, who constituted the mass of the population.

As in other colonial territories, a vocal nationalist movement had grown up, its membership mainly drawn from a westernized and urbanized minority, its driving force Ghanaian intellectuals who had been educated in Europe and America. The events of the Second World War fuelled this movement. Hundreds of thousands of Africans, having served in the British army in North Africa and the Far East, had had their horizons greatly extended, their expectations vastly increased—and their dissatisfactions intensified when, on returning home many could find no employment. It was the unemployed, only educated at primary level, which made nationalism a mass movement and provided its dynamism after 1945.[7]

Nationalists were not seeking a return to structures or culture of a traditional African kind. They had perceived that power and wealth lay with the British and they believed that the way to those goals for their own people lay through the establishment of a Western, specifically British, style democracy. Those who had been educated in Britain had, in fact, absorbed that lesson through study there. They had also acquired the belief that for the operation of a truly democratic state, Western style education was needed. Attempts by British authorities throughout the colonial period to establish an education which would preserve a distinctive African identity only convinced them that it was a device to keep them excluded from Western power and privilege.[8] By the end of the Second World War what the Nationalists—and most other Ghanaians—sought was not in place. Education in Ghana consisted essentially of a primary network, plus a very few institutions at secondary level. By 1948 only four per cent of the population had received more than six years of schooling.[9] To furnish the informed

citizenry essential to the exercise of democracy much more was needed, crucially secondary and higher education provision.

In Britain strong elements in the Labour Party, a partner in the wartime government coalition, had long been supporters of decolonization. In the Colonial Office, the responsible government department, it had become policy to give a greater role in public services to Africans and self-government for the colonies was envisaged, although at some unspecified time in the future. Before the Second World War a programme for the expansion of secondary education in Ghana had begun, but had been slowed down by Britain's economic difficulties. The introduction of higher education had also been discussed and during the war commissions were appointed which recommended the establishment of university institutions in British colonial territories. In 1943 a Colonial Office report also recognized the necessity of developing adult education in the African territories.[10]

The British concept of extra-mural work and the Ghanaian situation

The implantation of university extra-mural work in Ghana did not, however, spring from any official government initiative, or action by Ghanaian nationalists, it was set off by one man in a private capacity. George Wigg, a senior officer in wartime army education, visited West Africa in 1945 to survey and report on educational provision for troops there. Before rejoining the army (he had been a professional soldier) Wigg, an influential figure in the councils of the Labour Party, had been an adult educator, district secretary of the Workers' Educational Association in North Staffordshire, where he had worked with Thomas Hodgkin, then a staff tutor of the Oxford Delegacy in that area. He was also a member of the Delegacy's Tutorial Classes Committee.

During his stay in Africa, Wigg did not restrict himself to army affairs. On his return to Britain he reported to the Oxford Delegacy:

> During my tour of Africa last year I think I saw most of the developments which resemble adult education as we know it in this country. [...] The experiences I record added to the general impression gained there by countless talks with Africans and Europeans, convinced me that an enormous and vigorous field for work on extension courses lines is ready to be developed in large centres of

> population in West Africa. [...] The prestige of an established and respected University as the sponsor of such a scheme is essential, and whilst the support of the Colonial Office and Government is important it must not be too obvious or heavy handed. [...] A conception of education which did not lead to a job, but to unpaid service to the community will be very new on the coast, but some day it must be started if self-government is not to remain a meaningless slogan. I believe the time is ripe to experiment on the lines I suggest and I am convinced that such an experiment would be a success.[11]

By this time the Labour Party had formed the government; Wigg was in the House of Commons, a fellow-member of the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee, Arthur Creech Jones, was Colonial Secretary, and Hodgkin was chief officer of the Delegacy. It is not surprising that the Delegacy approved Wigg's suggestion and that it got the necessary Colonial Office support to go ahead. A scholar, observing at a distance of nearly half a century, may, however, be tempted to share the view (some years after the event) of one of the first Oxford tutors in Ghana that 'it was surely extraordinary that a pattern of adult education which had been shaped by the industrial working class in Lancashire and the Potteries should have been thought transferable to the small towns and peasant villages of Ashanti and Togoland'.[12] It must be said though, that Austin's scepticism about the value of what the Delegacy achieved in Ghana is not shared by other tutors of the time, or by native Ghanaians who were interviewed by the author of this chapter.

What it was intended to introduce into Ghana was the kind of adult education which was being provided in the pottery towns of North Staffordshire, and in which Wigg and Hodgkin had been involved. It was aimed at, and in part developed in response to demands of, the British industrial working class at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was intended to make available to workers education of university standard. It took a highly idealized view of what constituted the essentials of university provision, one closer to the philosophy of the nineteenth-century Cardinal John Henry Newman[13] than to contemporary practice in British universities, even in Oxford. Its purpose was both to provide knowledge and to develop in participants a critical approach to it, to offer intellectual enrichment and to equip them to play an informed part in a democratic society. Education was not intended to prepare people for jobs, and, to emphasize this, no certificates of attainment were awarded.

In England this university extra-mural education was a partnership of

universities and a voluntary body, the Workers' Educational Association. It depended on initiatives by local branches of the WEA, which would request courses in the subjects for which they thought there was a public in their locality. If they considered the subjects appropriate to their function, universities would provide tutors. In principle any university discipline could be treated in a liberal, critical way, but the most suitable to the goals of extra-mural study were humanities and social sciences, notably politics and economics. The core of extra-mural work was the tutorial class. In this students committed themselves to attend once a week for twenty-four weeks a year over three years. The number of students was limited to twenty-four per class and they were expected to submit regular written work for marking by the tutor.

The state of education in Ghana

Ghana was an agricultural country, not an industrial one. The system of indirect rule helped to bolster traditional African structures and culture, so that it remained, according to Austin, 'a society so different from that of the industrial west as to make comparison meaningless'.[14] It did not have an organized, politically conscious working class of the kind for which extra-mural work was designed. Wigg's recommendation that 'extension' courses be offered in large centres of population suggests that he was conscious of this and would aim at the nearest equivalent. However, as practised in Ghana extra-mural work largely reached people in rural areas, as the recollections of the early expatriate tutors, Lalage Bown, William Tordoff, and Denis Austin make clear.[15]

The level of schooling of the Ghanaian public was lower than that of British workers. In neither country had the target population had much access to secondary education (British secondary schools were highly selective and, moreover, most children of workers were excluded by the necessity, except for a small minority who won 'free places', of paying tuition fees), but by the 1930s most British children underwent nine years of elementary education. Ghana had no institutions of higher education to provide accepted standards for extra-mural classes. Ghanaians' knowledge and expectations of universities, such as they were, were filtered through

observation of expatriate Britons, plus the few wealthy Africans who had attended foreign universities, and through correspondence study for the secondary-level 'Local' examinations of Oxford and Cambridge, and for London University's External degrees.

The decision to introduce British extra-mural studies into Ghana may appear less bizarre, however, if one considers it in the apparently peculiar context of Ghanaian education as a whole. From the primary school up it was based on British practice, or what that practice was perceived to be, particularly at secondary level. By the demand of Africans themselves it was closer to the British model than many colonial administrators had wished. Ghanaians wanted to imitate the colonials, who themselves, as long-term expatriates, cherished a view of a Great Britain, which had either passed, or had only existed in a fictional homeland. 'The mark of the public school lay heavily on all British colonial administration in the first half of the twentieth century. The best type of colonial administrator was the public school hero.'[16] According to Austin, 'the ideals of Tom Brown's Schooldays dominated the education system'.[17] The autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana, is only one of many documents which confirm this.[18]

To introduce at the apex of this system the British type of university was a not illogical step, even if equally foreign to Africa, particularly as Oxbridge, which had enormous prestige, was to be taken as the model. Oxford itself was certainly an established and respected university, as stipulated by Wigg, and with Oxford went extra-mural work. Two reports of British government commissions, those chaired by Asquith and Elliott, which had recommended the foundation of universities in British colonies, had both included in their proposals the establishment of extra-mural departments and may have influenced Wigg's thinking.[19] When all this is said though, it only means that the introduction of university extra-mural work had precedents which were just as foreign to Ghana, and that, in so far as Ghanaians had become used to these precedents, the ground had to some extent been prepared for extra-mural education.

Extra-mural work in Ghana: the early years

If the public for which it had been designed did not exist in Ghana, there was certainly a need for education to equip people to play an informed part in democratic society, which was a prime aim of tutorial classes and other extra-mural practices. In that respect George Wigg was right and the urgency of the need was greater than he probably imagined. There is evidence that at the end of the Second World War the Colonial Office in London, the Oxford Delegacy, and particularly colonial officials in Ghana, saw the movement towards self-government in terms of decades rather than years. They underestimated, however, the strength world-wide of opposition to colonialism, particularly in the United Nations; and events, both inside and outside Ghana, particularly the granting of independence to India and Pakistan, ran out of their control. Under Nkrumah's leadership internal self-government was achieved in 1951 and full independence in 1957.

As the democratic process and university extra-mural work were conceived by the Oxford Delegacy and its staff, an essential part was informed discussion. There was no tradition of this in Ghana, it had indeed been discouraged by the colonial authorities as subversive of good order.[20] This suspicion was transferred to early extra-mural classes. In 1950 the then Governor of Ghana, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, declared that one of the causes of unrest in the country at that time was 'mental indigestion', which he blamed on extra-mural work.[21] From McLean's first classes it was clear that extra-mural studies filled a gap by offering the opportunity to engage in discussion on topical and contemporary problems.[22]

The public attracted to classes was a comparatively well-educated one by Ghanaian standards; what has been called by a number of writers an 'intellectual proletariat',[23] composed mainly of teachers (forty per cent) and clerks (twenty-seven per cent).[24] Frustrated by the lack of employment at the level for which they considered their middle- and secondary-school education equipped them, and with little prospect of advancement under the colonial regime, they formed the rank and file of nationalist activists. They valued the opportunity for political education offered by extra-mural classes or the People's Educational Association (the PEA, formed to undertake the organization of class programmes), in the activities of which, David Kimble claimed, one third of members elected to the first Legislative Assembly in

1951 had participated. Appreciation of the extra-mural department's work is further evident from the fact that, at the request of members of the new Assembly, it organized weekend schools to provide them with opportunities to 'think out and discuss certain fundamental problems at the commencement of their office'.[25]

The success of the department from its beginnings undoubtedly owed a great deal to the personal influence of David Kimble and the Oxford staff tutors who followed him to Ghana. Their brief from Hodgkin was to spread university extra-mural work on the English model as far as Ghanaian conditions allowed, their aim to make a necessary contribution to preparations for independence. They believed strongly in both. Kimble's energy, determination, organizing ability and political skills were of paramount importance. He allowed nothing to distract him, reiterating year after year in his annual reports that the function of the department was liberal adult education, the nature of which he explained.

The organizational machinery he set up was based as closely as was practical on the British university–WEA partnership and, in Ghanaian conditions, was a stroke of genius. Alongside the extra-mural department a voluntary organization, the People's Educational Association, was launched at Kimble's instigation. It was planned from the start to be a national body, with a network of local branches. The main business of a branch was to decide on subjects it wanted to study, to apply to the department for a tutor, who, with the branch, would plan a programme of study, and then to organize the extra-mural class(es). The PEA also organized and conducted its own educational and social activities. It was democratically constituted, took no side in religion and was not party-political.[26]

Like the extra-mural classes the PEA met a widespread need. It not only provided the local activists needed to mobilize support for extra-mural work, but because of its independent nature it also kept the department out of local political quarrels and in many parts of the colony formed the only forum in which people of differing political views and social situations could meet and communicate with each other on equal terms. It rapidly spread throughout Ghana and became such a force that, according to Richard Banibensu, a district secretary of the association in the 1950s, one of Nkrumah's key ministers called it the only well-organized institution in the country apart from the Convention People's Party.[27]

Kimble showed considerable political skill by emphasizing the PEA's independence of the department and retaining almost complete independence of action for the department within the University College, while stressing its position as a university institution. Through its classes and other activities and the PEA the department achieved another goal, which was not perhaps one of the Oxford Delegacy pioneers' own, but was stressed by the Asquith Report. It brought the University College (later the University) to the consciousness of the general community and by keeping it in touch with society helped to avoid its isolation as an ivory tower. This strengthened the department's position in the academic community.

The fact that Kimble felt the need to reiterate annually that the function of the department was liberal adult education suggests that it was under pressure to do other things. This is confirmed by the recollections of both expatriate and Ghanaian staff of the department's first decade. People who, in the absence of Ghanaian-based institutions, were seeking to further their education by taking correspondence courses leading to British secondary and professional qualifications, not surprisingly turned to the extra-mural department for help in their studies, seeking courses which had that end in view. At first it does not seem to have been a serious problem. In his reminiscences William Tordoff noted that there was a pressure, but Richard Banibensu remembers that it came from only a minority of students, while Lalage Bown does not recall being under any such pressure at all.[28]

After Ghana's independence the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (as it had become) faced increasing demand for tuition in 'vocational and other subjects which are generally offered for the public examination'.[29] Already, according to Yousif, the majority of those attending extra-mural classes were either taking an external examination or seeking advancement in their trade or profession.[30] The institute itself clung doggedly to its university-level liberal education work, taking steps only to improve its standard and abandon activities which did not meet it. To some extent it was able to do this, because it could deflect to the PEA some activities, such as courses for middle-school leavers leading to the General Certificate of Education, which the government had wished it to undertake.[31]

After self-government

Two major reasons may be adduced to explain the changing situation: demand from potential learners and government policy. The public for liberal adult education had been stimulated by the prospect of imminent independence and when that was achieved, interest in political education declined, as Tordoff remembered.[32] The emphasis switched to economics, a subject more relevant to examination syllabuses. Ghanaians had espoused Western-style education for the material benefits they believed it would bring. They were enthusiastic for independence, to a large extent at least, for the power and economic advantages they would achieve. The idea of education for any other purpose than self-advancement is still said to be still foreign to them.[33] George Wigg had recognized, 'A concept of education which did not lead to a job, but to unpaid service to the community will be very new on the coast.'[34] It may therefore be suspected that extra-mural classes did not change the situation much and that many of the adults who attended them, even in their early days, were not motivated by altruism or social conscience, but self-interest.[35] After independence and the share-out of political and politically-related posts, those who wanted to get on returned to more conventional educational paths to advancement.

The influence of the Government was of more immediate concern. Once in power Nkrumah became as hostile to independent examination of political issues as the colonial administration had been. He was not moving to a multi-party parliamentary democracy, but to a one-party state, inspired by Pan-Africanism and socialism. Faced by violent conflicts between rival factions in the country, he could not afford anything which might encourage dissent. In 1956 the government discontinued its earmarked grant to the institute, leaving it dependent on general University College funds. This decision was apparently taken in retaliation for criticism by an extra-mural tutor of the financing of a development project, the Volta River scheme.[36] It became clear that, as far as the Government was concerned, both the institute and the PEA ought to be instruments of propaganda for the Convention People's Party.

By 1958 Kimble was the only British expatriate left on the institute staff. Some of the African staff who replaced the British had imbibed the liberal tradition through training in Britain, but, as Ghanaian citizens, they were

more susceptible than the expatriates to external pressures. The refusal to change institute policy was seen as a failure to recognize changing times and the last years of Kimble's directorship as evidence that the institute had become out of touch with its constituency in the country.[47] In 1961 the PEA stated,

> Students are no longer interested in merely doing a lecture course and changing a subject from year to year. Interest is developing around integrated long-term courses which might offer an opportunity for sustained study towards a public examination eventually. It is in this regard that the Association would much welcome the introduction of other evening classes to be organized by the University College for Degree Courses.[48]

Kimble resigned in 1962 and within a few months Nkrumah, as Chancellor of the University of Ghana (the new name of the College), decreed that the institute should become the Institute of Public Education, but remain part of the University. It would be charged with organizing all former extra-mural activities. It would also take over the PEA's formal programmes and turn them into General Certificate of Education Courses. It would organize and run part-time degree courses for external degrees of the University of Ghana and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. It would be expected to introduce correspondence courses.[49]

What did the Department and Institute of Extra-Mural Studies achieve?

Under the new dispensation liberal education was not excluded, but it became an increasingly minor part of the new institute's programme. Even when Nkrumah and his institute were swept away by a *coup* in 1966, it did not recover its former status, indeed through all the political and economic vicissitudes of Ghana since 1962 it never has done. It is therefore appropriate to consider what it achieved up to that date and to ask whether the Oxford Delegacy's initiative and the devoted efforts of Kimble and his colleagues to provide liberal adult education and only liberal adult education were justified. After all, following the Elliott Report university extra-mural education was intended to form a function of the university college, even without the Oxford action, although it might not have had the same

doctrinal rigour. Against that it is possible to argue that the university college, opening a year after Kimble's arrival, was unlikely to have done much for extra-mural work at that early stage. Without the Delegacy it might well have started much later, as it did in Sierra Leone.

Throughout the period under consideration the Department and then the Institute filled a gap by providing education which was intended to be at the standard of higher education, but was, by the nature of its public, often only of secondary level. Any contribution in this area was valuable because, although it may be argued that other forms of education, more geared to qualifications, could have done as much, the fact remains that none had done so. If any had tried, they would probably have needed the prestige of Oxford and an organization as effective as the Extra-Mural–PEA collaboration in order to achieve the same measure of country-wide penetration.

In the beginning Wigg was correct in believing that political education was needed and the department performed a considerable service in providing this. Whether the assumption that a critical approach to knowledge fed by informed discussion was necessary in a country now moving towards independence was right, is more open to debate. If Ghana had become a parliamentary democracy on the British model, as was expected in Britain, the assumption would have been justified. It did not, although the move to a one-party state could hardly have been foreseen. Even if it had been, it might not have made much difference, for the assumption was not based on a specific assessment of the Ghanaian situation, but on a belief that parliamentary democracy was the ideal form of government, that an education to play an informed and critical role as a citizen was the right of every individual in any circumstances, and that extra-mural studies should work to those ends. Many people in Britain held as a matter of faith that liberal education was the highest kind of education and it is quite easy to see its advocates in Ghana preaching their gospel with the same fervour as the Christian missionaries did theirs. That, its perception of the need for political education, and its concept of what was appropriate to a university, would account for the department's rigidity in refusing to have anything to do with examinations.

It seems fairly clear that, especially in its early days, the department attracted people who wished to learn how self-government would work and what role they as citizens could play in it. To that extent it achieved its

purpose of educating a body of politically informed and conscious citizens. On the other hand it does not seem that extra-mural classes had much success in converting people to the idea of disinterested service to the community. It is also clear that, although no attempt was made to help people pass examinations, an increasing number of students did use extra-mural classes for that purpose, just as before independence others had used classes to equip themselves for a political career.[40] It thus responded to a significant public demand without meaning to. Whether, in the absence of other agencies to help and in the face of evident need, the department should have adopted a more flexible attitude to offering studies leading to certificates, in addition to liberal studies, is debatable. One gets the impression of fear that, once admitted, certificate courses would oust liberal studies and, in view of the decline of the latter after 1962, that fear (shared by many in the British situation) may well have been justified.

Extra-mural education as an example of cultural transfer

According to long-prevailing theory in comparative education, as an exercise in cultural transfer the export of university liberal adult education to Ghana should never have been attempted.[41] In support of that opinion, although many of its practitioners believed it to be of potentially universal relevance, liberal adult studies of the kind attempted were very much a product of specifically British conditions. It may be argued against the theory, however, that it envisaged transfer from one deeply rooted culture to another, whereas Ghana was a society in flux, with native cultural influence being increasingly rejected and the British enthusiastically imitated in education. Although a conscientious attempt was made to discover whether the essential pre-conditions for successful extra-mural work existed, it was small-scale and short-term, and it is doubtful whether it took in the public actually reached, as opposed to the one at which the work was aimed. But, even if Wigg and Hodgkin did not themselves appreciate how urgent was the need they would try to meet, there was not the time to undertake a more thorough assessment of the field. Ideally they might have devised a model of educational provision more closely tailored to Ghanaian conditions and aspirations, but again there was not the time. Realistically, if they were to meet a clear need they

had at least to start from an existing model, and it is difficult to think of one at their disposal which was more suitable, with more resources and influence than the university extra-mural one.

In practice and against theory, the British form of organization proved a great success. It worked so well and became so strong that it brought about its own demise, by provoking the effective take-over by the government of the PEA and Institute of Extra-Mural Studies. The content and form of the education offered survived for fourteen years. Perhaps they depended too much on one man, David Kimble, but even he could not have forced them on a totally unwilling audience. Perhaps the courses were used for purposes not intended by the providers, but that happens to any adult education, whether imported or indigenously developed. Moreover extra-mural work did achieve part of the purpose for which it was introduced, certainly in the years up to independence.

This raises the question of how long must an imported educational practice work in a foreign culture before its transfer can be considered a success. On the whole, in the situation that Wigg and Hodgkin saw and the direction in which change appeared to be going, extra-mural studies did work for eight years. In a more hostile environment they maintained their form and some of their spirit for a further six. It is unrealistic to argue that if they had worked better, then multi-party democracy might not have collapsed in Ghana, and that therefore they would have survived longer. That would be to attribute more power to education alone than it could possibly have had. Besides there was too little time. That the move to a one-party state would happen at all, would happen so soon and would make their main purpose not only unattainable, but unacceptable, could hardly have been foreseen.

There is a tendency to see changes in a practice transferred from one culture to another as a sign that it is not working. On the contrary, it may be a sign that it is, and one of the failures of university extra-mural work in Ghana may have been that it clung too rigidly to the form and purpose of its origins. It might have been a more healthy sign if it had adapted to a changing environment. By 1962 university extra-mural work in Britain was doing so. It was significantly different from what it had been in 1945. The university–WEA link was breaking down and universities were initiating and organizing independent programmes. The number of tutorial classes

had grown after the Second World War, but was already declining from its peak. Their increase has to be seen as part of a general growth of extra-mural work and in that context, even at their most numerous in the mid-1950s, their comparative importance was less than it had been in 1939 or 1945. Whereas they had formed the largest part of provision, they were, and increasingly continued to be, outnumbered by other activities. This was true even of Oxford.[42] Although it was outside our period, demand for certification was about to raise its head.

On the whole from 1948 to 1962 the University's Department/Institute of Extra-Mural Studies made a significant contribution, both to adult education and to the establishment of university education in Ghana, although not always in ways it intended. It achieved results that, by a general consensus of those people interviewed by this author, no other institution could have achieved at that time. It worked well enough and long enough to refute the contention that cultural transfer in education, in any form, is never justifiable.

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14

Adult Education as Intercultural Communication

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Unlike the other contributions to the volume, this chapter does not deal with historical and comparative research in adult education. Its subject originates from research concerned with contemporary adult education and ethnic relations, and it presents an elaboration of a model for the analysis of intercultural communication. Those concerned with the cross-cultural dissemination of adult education undertake similar analyses. The common consideration is the cultural basis of adult education, and because of that commonality we assume that the approach of our research can also shed light on historical and comparative study.

Introduction

The importance of the mass media for adult education can hardly be overestimated. Adult education is often considered to be in a significant degree non-formal education; adults learn from many other sources than institutionalized education (Bolhuis 1988: 69–75). Despite all the efforts of the modern welfare state to influence the behaviour of citizens through information campaigns, people still seek information which most gratifies their needs in their own way (McQuail 1987: 233–237). Given this background, the analysis of adult education can profit from insights drawn from mass communication theory.

In this chapter, we elaborate a particular application of communication theory to adult education. This derives from a research project into the use of educational films concerning relations between, on the one hand, ethnic

minorities and, on the other hand, autochthonous groups and the institutions of the welfare state (Glastra and Kats 1991a, 1991b). Immigration and ethnic minorities have become permanent features of Dutch society. The social situation of ethnic minorities involves several problems. As a rule, they are under-schooled, they are more often unemployed, their family relations are under severe pressure and the older foreign workers run a considerably higher risk of health problems than their Dutch counterparts (Schumacher 1987: 124,173). A boom in public information has developed around ethnic minorities. Public information regarding laws and regulations and the working of institutions is addressed to minorities; and public information generally about relations in a multicultural society is directed at the white majority. Educational activities like these are characterized as inter-, cross- or even trans-cultural. This highlights culture as generic to adult education and to communication in general.

In the first part of this chapter, we develop an approach to adult education as intercultural communication by contrast with other, existing approaches. In the second part, we sketch a conceptual framework and some consequences and problems for research undertaken according to this approach.

A 'transmission' approach to intercultural communication

A transmission approach to communication (Glastra and Kats 1991c: 60–63) sheds light on several aspects of adult education. Mass communication has attracted the attention of scholars interested in its positive potential, as well as those concerned about its negative effects. Traditionally, adult education has been expected to supply valuable information to those in need of it (Bolhuis 1988: 70). The social groupings addressed are often those in situations of disadvantage who are held to suffer from a deficit of education and information. These assumptions encourage an orientation towards a successful, effective and, if possible, smooth, transmission of information (Fiske 1982: 8; Williams 1981: 19). Failures in communication will be blamed on misunderstandings or cultural lags and will lead to renewed efforts. Here, culture appears as a hindrance to rather than a general condition of communication. The cultural lag of the social groups addressed must be overcome; adult education is enlightenment, the aim of the

approach is to bring the benefits of modern society to everyone. Education constitutes a unifying force in society; any loss of information will be considered to be a misfortune and to require explanation. Apart from deficiencies attributed to the receivers, an explanation for mis-communication is found also in the idea of 'noise-factors'. Social problems are reduced in this way to problems in the transmission process.

An example of this can be found in the discussion of the role of public information in the welfare system. One of the features of the so-called crisis of the welfare state is the growing distance between the state and its institutions on the one hand, its citizens on the other hand. A growing number of information officers have found employment in this gap. The demand for more and more information is a reaction to the loss of control by the state over social problems, and an example of this is the information boom in the ethnic relations field. And yet, a sudden discovery that this strategy of 'more of the same' is ineffective has recently brought opinion round to accepting cuts in the public information budget (Algemene Rekenkamer 1991). Instead of the social system that produces the problems which information campaigns have to tackle, the information process itself is blamed for the persisting lack of understanding. The messenger is victimized instead of the source of the message. The exclusion of the message from the debate makes clear the source-orientation of this approach.

Although some of the premises of the transmission approach may sometimes prove to be empirically or practically valid, their generalized use in the rhetorics of popular education, modernization, diffusion of innovations, and public information tends towards a paternalistic conception of education. The relationship between analytical and political approaches towards education is a complicated and indirect one (Kats and Glastra 1991). A link between the two can be found, however, in assumptions about the essential nature and practical operation of social processes like education and communication. The debate on ethnic minorities concentrates upon integration, what it means and how it will be achieved. A paternalistic assumption seems to colour the attitude of those who conceive of integration as the task of ethnic minorities themselves to accommodate to the bases of modern democratic society (by which, of course, is meant Dutch society). A transmission approach considers adult education as a source of useful information, equally open to all who want to take part in this society. This

conception conceals the specific cultural origins of adult education just as it does the relations of dominance and subordination between different (sub)cultures.

A 'signification approach' to intercultural communication

Instead of a source-orientation one could adopt a receiver-orientation, in the form of a signification approach to communication (Glastra and Kats 1991c: 63–65). Such an approach draws attention to the cultural capacities of audiences to make sense of information, and breaks away from the attribution of a passive and dependent role characteristic of the paternalistic perspective. Social groupings create their own frames of meaning by selecting information for use, interpreting and integrating it in their own life-world. Education does not have a unifying role, it does no more than provide people with the means to develop their own culture. Communication research shows that adult education can never represent more than a very small part of the information people use in their everyday lives (van Cuilenburg and Noomen 1984: 59). An undue narrowing of perspective results, therefore, from identifying adult education with the information it supplies.

Information campaigns on relations between men and women, or minorities and majorities, as promoted by the Dutch state often consist of a series of short TV-spots shown amidst an abundant supply of current-affairs programmes and soap-operas dealing with the same subjects in other or even conflicting ways. Time and again it appears that these information spots are far from being as unambiguous as the producers intended them to be (see for example Bruinincx and van der Kleij 1984). The meaning of messages is to be found in the interpretative activity of the receiver. What looks like lagging or faulty interpretation, may be recognized as the product of different 'problem definitions' and 'structures of relevance' (Bosman and others 1989: 68,164). The accent here is on cultural differentiation.

This approach reflects a culture-relativist conception of social relations and education. Society is presented as a collection of local (sub)cultures, each with its own systems of meaning and its own rights. Regarding the debate on the integration of ethnic minorities, this perspective can be recognized in the standpoint of supporters of a multicultural society: they want a thousand

flowers to flourish in the apparently inexhaustible 'Dutch garden'. Each group should celebrate its identity under the protection of its own welfare services. Some even support a culturally segregated organization of education and other provisions for minority groups. Self-reliance is supposed to result eventually in emancipation and integration. A signification approach reduces the social function of adult education to the self-fulfilment of participants. Actual problems of accessibility and compatibility are thus excluded from public debate. Conflicts between population groups are prematurely blamed on the racism of indigenous groups living in working-class neighbourhoods. The restrictions some minority cultures implicitly impose, for example on the social participation of women and girls, are ignored. The normative assertion of the equal validity of all cultures leads to the neglect of relations of dominance and subordination just as much as the transmission approach does.

Health care and ethnic minorities: towards an 'argumentation approach' to intercultural communication

Both of the approaches towards adult education as intercultural communication discussed above reveal shortcomings. More often than not, intercultural communication is ridden with inequality, conflict and lack of understanding. A fixation on the undistorted transmission of valuable information does not recognize that receivers evaluate adult education according to their own cultural presuppositions. Conceptions held by audience groups can collide with the definitions promoted by adult education and those of other institutions. The idea of signification seems to suggest that all interpretations and definitions are equivalent. Communication processes should not be examined in isolation, however, from the power relations which determine them and which are, in turn, reinforced by their outcomes. The interpretation of information is subject to social conflict and debate. Therefore we wish to consider communication as a process of 'argumentation'.

Health education with respect to ethnic relations provides a good example of the argumentation of information. The social situation of ethnic minorities involves many problems which manifest themselves or are eventually defined as 'health problems'. This frequently results in dependence on a whole range of welfare provisions, among which health services

figure. Professionals working in these fields experience difficulties in dealing with the problems of ethnic minorities within their own frame of reference. These kinds of problems and difficulties have given rise to various initiatives in the field of health education.

All kinds of actors are involved in health education, such as policy makers, service-deliverers and professionals, organizations concerned with adult education and public information, producers of audio-visual material, and ethnic minorities. These actors are structurally linked together in a social configuration in which the distribution of power is uneven. In the context of the welfare state the operation of the system of health services is a focus of dispute, however, and does not result automatically in the reproduction of existing power relations. Hence communication in health education develops in a field of social forces. Communication processes are concerned with 'winning consent' (Hall 1982). Established definitions of problems are not only a condition for interaction; they also have to be continuously (re)established through interaction (see Giddens 1984: 28).

Health services are initially in a better position to define problems and solutions than foreign patients who are not organized socially. The routines of the health services are not always tailored, however, to the claims of ethnic minorities. The provision of professional care has become fused with the implementation of the rules of social welfare; medical staff are likely to be confronted with role conflict in this situation. The health services have a latent function of regulating social conflict by translating and individualizing it in terms of illness and health (de Swaan 1989: 243); if they cannot deal with the problems of foreign patients in this way, professional standards come into question and the medical system risks losing its social authority in these matters.

When health education attempts to tackle the problems experienced in this configuration, it becomes inevitably involved in the argumentation regarding contexts, meanings, consequences and ways of responding to these problems. In this sense, health education is an agency in the transformation of social problems into problems of health and health care. As such, it can be considered as a contribution to the 'proto-professionalization' (de Swaan 1989: 232) of the clients of health services. It teaches them to behave according to the dominant conceptions in health care, which is vital for them in finding their way and exercising their rights.

Much is expected of educational films in particular (Jonkers and others 1988: 11). Both inside and outside the institutions of health care participants in different positions produce all kinds of programmes which draw on their own rules and routines. Educational programmes are not the neutral vehicles of unambiguous information. The dominant social order is always to a certain degree paralleled by a dominant cultural order, which provides the material and the rules for the production of argumentations. Existing standard approaches to dealing with health and health care in television broadcasting (Karpf 1988) can thus function as models for the construction of programmes in health education. There is no direct and automatic reflection of socially dominant interests in the prevailing representations and images. The relationship between them is an outcome of changing power relations and developing institutional specialization. When the state directly controls the means of cultural production, the convergence between both types of orders will be greater than when specialized market forces or institutional professionals take over (Williams 1981: 101; de Swaan 1989: 236). In this context, we must also mention conflicts between public broadcasting organizations on the one hand, and the state and other interested parties on the other hand, over tasks and responsibilities in the treatment of public-health issues. Karpf (1988) reports how in matters of medicine and health the medical professionals have shifted their stance from adversaries, through authoritative sources, to presenters in public broadcasting. This development is ridden with conflicts about broadcasting autonomy and the outcome is not in any way assured in advance. Thus the production of programmes can be conceptualized as the situated and rule-governed transformation of a dominant cultural order.

The reception of information as a process of argumentation

Health education develops in a field of social forces and hence it can never be taken for granted that 'proto-professionalization' will be successful. Educational programmes must first be decoded, if there is to be an 'effect' or a 'use'. In the process of civilization, coercion and reward have been replaced by the more subtle resources of communication (see Elias 1976). A continuous effort is required to control the interpretations, let alone the actions, of

potential receivers. No matter how powerful a given source may be, communication always remains to some extent a two-sided process, and it is fragile, therefore, from the point of view of the source. There can be no guarantee that receivers will use the same codes as the sources of a message. There is no one-to-one relationship between the sign-vehicles used in a message and the meanings intended by the source. Even though a dominant cultural order makes some interpretations more probable than others, and is thus an indispensable 'tool' for the construction of any communication, it is not certain to be reproduced. This is even more the case with regard to ethnic minorities, whose lack of social and cultural integration, from the point of view of the institutions of the welfare state, is precisely the motive for many public information campaigns.

Every message incorporates a certain degree of ambiguity. Therefore, there is a need for what Stuart Hall (1976) has called 'ideological work'. This is done by structuring the manifold meanings, potentially evoked by the signs constituting a message, in a 'preferred reading' (Hall 1980: 134), which actively prefers some readings to others. This is, for example, done by seeking to assign 'subject-' or 'reading-positions' for potential readers (Morley 1980b: 169). Many films about health care for migrants feature migrant protagonists in order to provide possibilities for identification. This is not to say that actual readers will effectively adopt such positions. Where the activity of the source is conceptualized as an 'encoding practice', the social action of the receiver implies a 'decoding practice' (Hall 1980: 130). This decoding practice can also be characterized as a process of argumentation. An ordered and ever-developing reservoir of cultural codes, the 'cultural capital' of the receiver, guides the active interpretation of incoming information (see Bourdieu 1977). Successful communication from the source's perspective has a number of possible meanings: it may be that the same codes are used by source and receiver; or that the codes in use have been in effect expanded by the communication, with learning on the part of the receiver; or that the existing ordering of codes has in effect been changed, which may entail the repression or defeat of 'unfavourable' codes. In the last case the receiver has unlearned, but not necessarily to his or her own advantage.

However, successful communication can almost never be ascribed to one message alone, or even to messages in general. The interpretative activity of receivers is always involved, the variety of messages to choose from is almost

unlimited and social forces other than messages often prepare the ground for acceptance much more effectively. When ethnic minorities learn to see health as an individual responsibility, and thereby seem to accept the main drift and the language of the health-care campaign aimed at them, this will also be a consequence of the real advantages of being proto-professionalized in this way within the Dutch health-services system. These advantages are, first, that by talking and understanding the language of the professionals they will be able to negotiate the terms of their diagnosis and treatment more effectively; and, secondly, smooth contacts with professionals will result in a better chance of realizing their claims to health-care benefits in the welfare state. What appears as 'misunderstanding' and 'communication failure' can be re-conceptualized as the outcome of the application of contradictory sets of cultural codes in the encoding and the decoding practices in relation to their respective positions in the social configuration, and/or the 'negotiation' of the general message to fit particular local circumstances. An example of this kind of 'negotiated reading' (Hall 1980: 137) is the situation where someone agrees with the general drift of a message, but makes an exception for himself or herself. However, there is nothing intrinsically virtuous or valuable about oppositional and negotiated decodings. As Dieleman (1983) and Hall (1986b: 41) have shown, working class resistance to community-work professionals, or reaction to their exclusion from 'the nation', may well take the form of racism and discrimination. On the other hand successful communication can be understood as an expression of cultural and social domination rather than a result of consensus between equal partners.

Communication as the argumentation of social practices

The example of health education and ethnic minorities reveals that both sides of the communication process are involved in the production of meaning. The definition of the situation expressed by different actors is not accomplished in an ideological vacuum. Both educational programmes and interpretations by audiences constitute specific moments in the process of representation of social problems. This deprives messages and interpretations of their self-evident meaning; they express arguments of social discourse. Research should focus, therefore, on the construction of meaning in the 'texts' produced in this discourse. This point of view is ignored by both

the transmission approach and the signification approach to communication. Research in the transmission approach is to a large extent restricted to effects of messages. Yet a text cannot be conceived as a stimulus having an effect, because a message has no simple and unequivocal meaning, but carries various meanings. Research in the signification approach tends to be limited to ethnographic studies of 'the ways in which this or that audience group actively produces specific meanings and pleasures out of this or that text, genre or medium' (Ang 1990: 243). These studies isolate the production of meaning from its broader political and ideological context. Only if some notion of the social meaning of texts is incorporated (Bosman and others 1989: 98) can consensus or domination and differentiation or resistance be understood as (simultaneous) tendencies in intercultural communication.

In communication theory the role of ideology has been emphasized by several authors (for example Halloran 1977; Hall 1980: 117). The 'encoding–decoding model' (Hall 1980: 128) can be used to analyse how meanings are produced and how they relate to the meanings which are (re)produced by audiences. According to this model, communication is not a linear process from sender to receiver, but is rather a process of argumentation of social practices. When various parties are involved, as in health education, conflicting meanings are likely to occur.

The production of meanings in educational films implies the transformation of information into a story-line. Stories must conform to the rules of language, and in the case of audio-visual communication to those of 'film-language'. Educational programmes transform social problems in a discursive form. The very process of representation means that films cannot leave these problems undisturbed. The production of educational films is thus by definition never ideologically neutral. In the 'encoding–decoding model', the rule-systems governing the production and reproduction of audio-visual programmes are referred to as ideologies. According to this model, social problems are the raw materials which are reproduced at all moments in the communication process. This is not to say, however, that this is a question of 'original' social problems distorted by the production of meaning. It is not a question here of ideology in the sense of 'false consciousness'. Social problems cannot exist in isolation from ideological systems of meaning. Ideology is not a source of disturbance, but rather a constitutive factor in all social communication.

In the social practices which constitute the communication process, systems of meaning are continuously transformed. The collision of social practices is inherent in this process, in the sense that the correspondence between encoding and decoding is constantly under pressure (Hall 1980: 128,136). Because of the fact that the dominance of meanings or a cultural order must always be constructed, the relationship between preferred readings in the texts and the real readings made in situated practices remains an empirical question. A theoretical problem, however, is the restrictive conceptualization in the original encoding–decoding model. Here, 'dominant', 'negotiated' and 'oppositional' decodings can easily be interpreted as the degrees to which people accept or reject the general ideological drift of a text. Several researchers (Morley 1980a; Liebes and Katz 1989) have contributed, however, to a more thorough theoretical statement of decoding based on empirical research, without collapsing the text into its reading.

In the light of the above, the rules that govern the production and reproduction of information in practices like health education are a focal point for investigation. In the following section we develop a conceptual framework for this kind of research.

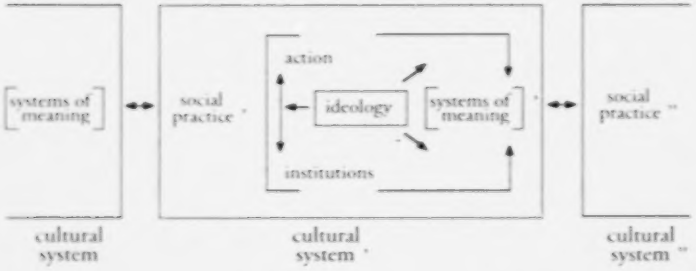
A conceptual framework

Ideologies were defined above as the rule-systems which provide the basis for the functioning of social practices. This is not to say that ideologies have nothing to do with consciousness, but that is not the primary concern. The central point is the practice, the action rather than the consciousness (Hall 1981). Ideologies form the rule-systems which provide the basis for the behaviour of social actors, but it is not necessary that actors are aware of these rule-systems (Hall 1980: 123).

Human action is not an individual question. This is the reason for talking of social practices (de Vries 1977: 99,170; Giddens 1979: 5; Hall 1981). 'Social practice' refers to more or less institutionalized patterns of action, such as may be recognized in the activities of health care, adult education, public information and the like on the one hand, and in the everyday life of the people they serve on the other hand. In this respect, the concept of social practice involves both the action as developed by individual actors, and the patterns of action which have become crystallized in institutions.

In our development of the theory of ideology, we make use of theoretical insights concerning rule-governed action. De Vries (1977: 100) uses the term 'rule' to express the organized nature of the behaviour of social actors. This provides a link with the proposed concept of ideology. According to de Vries, a theory of rule-governed action offers the possibility of understanding the connections between society as a subjective and as an objective reality (de Vries 1977: ch 2). On the one hand, this directs attention to the subjective meaning of action, as is emphasized in symbolic interactionism. On the other hand, society is seen to form an objective reality for action in the shape of an institutional structure. According to de Vries rules are 'located in "material conditions", "relations of production", "technological development", and in historically developed practices' (de Vries 1977: 170).

Social practices constitute cultural systems (see Giddens 1984: 25). Meanings and systems of meaning are produced in these practices. Culture as such is associated with both a process dimension and a product dimension. The resulting systems of meaning form an orientation for action. Social practices and the produced systems of meaning also function externally. These systems of meaning form the input, the raw materials for other social practices, which in their turn produce systems of meaning in the form of output. The conceptual framework is illustrated in the following diagram:



In this diagram society is presented as a conglomerate of social practices which are constantly transforming each other. All social practices produce systems of meaning which provide the raw materials for other practices. The political system expresses the absence of integration on the part of ethnic minorities as a social problem. Health services experience difficulties in

diagnosing health problems among these minorities, while social insurance has problems in dealing with the resulting claims. For health education these experiences constitute the raw material for the production of educational films. Film practice, the action of film makers in more or less institutionalized relations, transforms this raw material into films. Different audiences, for example policy makers, educators, nurses in training or patients, will reproduce the information of these films in terms of their own experience-world and systems of meaning.

The rule-systems of different social practices constitute an ideological constellation of dominance and subordination among social practices. These kinds of relationships determine the possibilities and limitations of processes of communication. The definition of social problems can become generalized in these processes. This generalization implies the 'winning of consent', which is required, as was mentioned above, for the health services to function.

Research on argumentation processes

Specific starting-points for research can be derived from our approach. Any cultural system can be studied in terms of both process and product. We will indicate here, briefly, some relevant aspects from our research into the production of films, the films themselves and their reception.

The political and ideological backgrounds of the production of educational films will appear especially clearly from institutional structures. How is health education embedded in the health services system, and what is the role of the state and the social insurance system? What kind of organizations produce educational programmes, and what is the degree of participation of the various groups involved. And in particular, is any influence exerted by client groups? The specificity of educational transformations of social problems can be analysed by scrutinizing the 'professional ideologies' of educational workers. 'Structures of relevance' (Schutz 1962: 15; Schuyt 1972: 15) provide a base for the selection and definition of problems; and 'ideologies of efficacy' (van den Berg and others 1981) supply arguments for an effective organization of the communication process as a whole.

The analysis of the texts themselves links up with semiotics (Hall 1980: 119). By means of semiotic analysis it is possible to trace the rules, in this

context known as codes, which constitute signifying systems (Eco 1972). Here the affinity with our understanding of ideology is clear. Ideology is not considered as a set of specific, possibly concealing, meanings, but as a specific transformation of meanings in general (Hall 1980: 123). The meaning of an audio-visual programme only comes into existence through the work of codes. In this context, the codes governing the editing of a film from segments and the bridging of cutting points are of primary relevance. The latter can be referred to with the term 'linkage discourse' (Brunsdon and Morley 1978). The relation of text, images and sound forms another important constitutive element of film discourse. This discourse as a whole implies a specific narrative and argumentative structure (Kuchenbuch 1978). This structure interpellates the audience by the construction of roles and the preference of certain alternatives for action.

However, the analysis of the text and its production does not automatically yield the range or hierarchy of possible decodings. Some findings from our research stress the 'contextuality' of readings. A film which discusses problems of the migration of workers to Rotterdam in the first part of this century was shown in the municipal library. Older members of the audience interpreted this film with a nostalgic reading. The younger ones made the translation into the problems of the integration of immigrants at the present day. The same film was also shown in secondary schools. Within the framework of a project on racism, the film was interpreted as a historic lesson against racism. In the framework of a course in geography, the film was considered to convey information on urbanization.

Within different contexts a variety of negotiated readings arises. This variety goes far beyond the limited preoccupation with acceptance or rejection of information implied in the standardized measurement of effects of messages. Indications of domination and resistance have to be analysed just as much in relation to the contexts as to the educational information. This implies a 'de-centring' of the message.

Communication research and politics

Our approach offers an alternative to the other perspectives on communication discussed. It constitutes a break with the linear conception of a given programme which succeeds to a greater or less degree in reaching its target

group. The definition of social problems develops in an argumentation of social practices. The production of meaning is not merely or only located in the heads of the viewers. Processes of communication cannot be considered in isolation from social development. Consequently, the social innocence of the programme itself becomes the centre of the discussion. The representation of problems in practices like health education is not ideologically neutral. Films do not form a body of 'given' stimuli which precede the process of attributing meanings. Programmes also constitute a moment in the production of meaning. Research should not reduce the perspective to the effects of messages or the interpretations of texts, but should direct attention to social processes of representation.

This approach has implications for how one takes a stand on the role of adult education in the integration of ethnic minorities. Education, like communication, is a process in which different parties are involved. Each party brings its cultural backgrounds with it, adult education not excepted. Education will always reproduce to a certain degree the conditions of the dominant social system. It does so, for example, in its allocative function (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970). Education will operate restrictively towards minority groups. But, as Giddens (1984: 16) has expressed in his idea of the 'duality of structure', structures are always both restricting and enabling. Education restricts people, but it also enables them to participate in the reproduction and possibly the transformation of society. The restrictions involved in adult education must not be allowed to remain obscured by a layer of lofty values, but must be critically analysed. The same holds for the concealment of problems of minority cultures behind uncritical tolerance. An argumentation approach calls attention to the cultural collisions which are likely to result from the restrictions involved on both sides. Such an approach could provide a sounder base for the realization of the enabling potential of a practice of adult education which connects with the experiential world of minority groups.

Of course, research in the argumentation approach cannot solve the practical problems of intercultural communication. It can serve, however, to redefine these problems as an issue of social and cultural power, rather than of increasing communicative efficiency or human empathy, and that may in turn serve to remind researchers of the political nature of their work.

Conclusion

If we applied this approach to historical and comparative research, the focus would need to be on the structure and ideological backgrounds of the educational systems of different countries. According to Giddens (1976: 157), structures constitute both the condition and the product of action, thus system reproduction is implied in action. In considering the promotion of innovations in adult education, the general question would be how innovations contribute to the re-establishing and/or transformation of social conditions and dominant conceptions. In this context it would be interesting to look at the ideological backgrounds and institutional affiliations of these innovations and the social groupings supporting or opposing them. The definition of the tasks of adult education and the programmes developed to discharge these tasks are likely to be a focus for struggle and debate between the different groupings and institutions involved. The documentary evidence for their conceptions may well lend itself to the kind of analysis of argumentation indicated above. The reasons for addressing adult education to particular social groupings, and the definition of the situation held to reveal the need for an educational offensive, would be important elements of such an analysis. Do the social groupings addressed define this situation in the same way as the educators, or are there conflicting interests? Resistance and negotiation on the part of the clients could lead to a new cycle in the transformation of adult education.

We believe that questions of this kind are in fact often addressed in the language of historical and comparative research. There are clearly affinities with our research into contemporary issues; it might even be useful to explore means of fertilizing the common ground.

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Leeds Studies in Continuing Education ISSN 0965–0342